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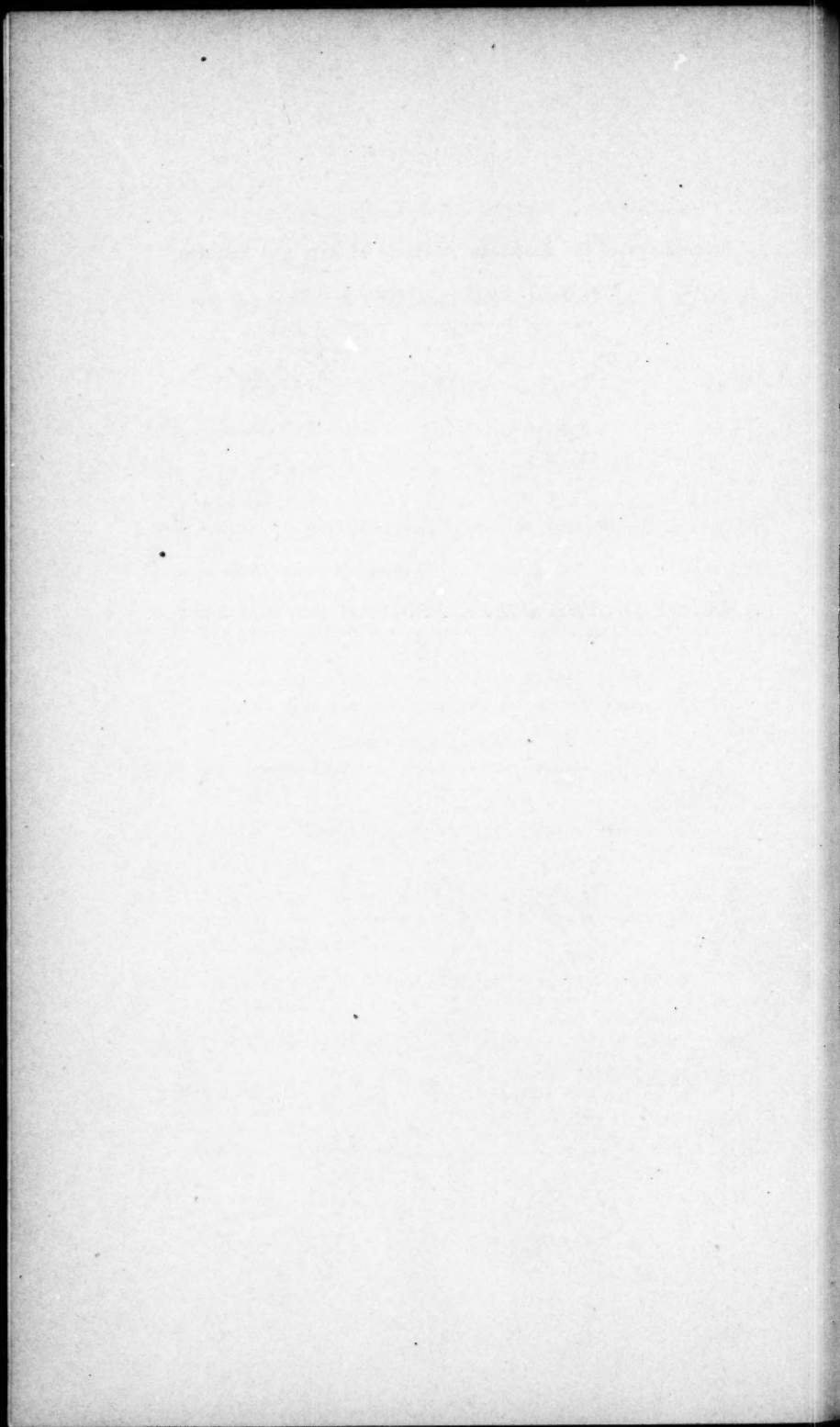
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A STUDY OF THE GREEK EPIGRAM BEFORE 300 B. C.

BY FLORENCE ALDEN GRAGG.



A STUDY OF THE GREEK EPIGRAM BEFORE 300 B. C.¹

BY FLORENCE ALDEN GRAGG.

Presented by H. Weir Smyth, February 9, 1910. Received May 10, 1910.

ALTHOUGH there exist several collections of Greek epigrams and many treatises on individual epigrammatists, such as Anacreon, Simonides, and Plato, no one has as yet collected and arranged in chronological order the epigrams which have been preserved both on stone and in MSS. and examined them in detail with the purpose of throwing light

¹ Selected Bibliography together with a List of Abbreviations by which the works are cited:

AEMO = *Archaeologische epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich.*

AM = *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, athenische Abtheilung.*

AP = *Anthologia Palatina.*

I-IX, 563, ed. H. Stadtmüller. Leipzig, 1894-99.

IX-end, with appendix, ed. F. Jacobs. Leipzig, 1814.

A Pl = *Anthologia Planudea*, ed. F. Jacobs. Leipzig, 1884.

Allen = F. D. Allen, *On Greek Versification in Inscriptions. Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. 4, pp. 37-204. Boston, 1888.

B, Bergk, or PLG = Th. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*⁴. Leipzig, 1892.

BOH = *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique.*

Boas = M. Boas, *De Epigrammatis Simonideis*. Groningen, 1905.

CIA = *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.*

Vol. I, ed. Kirchhoff. Berlin, 1873.

Vol. II, ed. Koehler. Berlin, 1877-88.

Vol. III, ed. Dittenberger. Berlin, 1878-82.

Vol. IV, ed. Koehler. Berlin, 1877-91.

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*

Vol. I, ed. Boeckh. Berlin, 1828.

Vol. II, ed. Boeckh. Berlin, 1843.

Vol. III, ed. Franz. Berlin, 1853.

Vol. IV, ed. Curtius & Kirchhoff. Berlin, 1877.

CRAI = *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie d'Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres.*

Fava = D. Fava, *Gli Epigrammi di Platone*. Milan, 1901.

Haenel, J. *De Epigrammatis Graeci Historia*. Breslau, 1852.

H = E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum quae ante medium saeculum a. Chr. n. tertium incisa ad nos pervenerunt*. Halle, 1893.

Hauvette = A. Hauvette, *De l'Authenticité des Epigrammes de Simonide*. Paris, 1896.

Henkenrath, R. *Studien zu den griechischen Grabschriften*. Feldkirch, 1896.

on the development of this branch of Greek literature. Historians of Greek letters² have touched but lightly on the epigram. Haenel's book, published in 1852,³ is now out of date and, even at the time of its publication, did not do justice to its subject. Mackail, in a work as useful as it is charming,⁴ has included only such epigrams as are

Hiller = E. Hiller, Zu den Simonideischen Epigrammen, *Philologus*, 48, 229-247.

IA = Inscriptiones Argolidis, ed. M. Fraenkel. Berlin, 1902.

IGA = Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae, ed. Roehl. Berlin, 1882.

IGS = Inscriptiones Graecae Septentrionalis, ed. Dittenberger. Berlin, 1892.

IIS = Inscriptiones Italiae et Siciliae, ed. Kaibel. Berlin, 1890.

IP = Die Inschriften von Pergamon, ed. M. Fraenkel. Berlin, 1890-95.

JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies.

JOAI = Jahresheft des Oesterreichischen Archaeologischen Instituts zu Wien.

Junghahn, A. A. De Simonidis Cei Epigrammatis Quaestiones. Berlin, 1869.

K = G. Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus Collecta. Berlin, 1878.

K(RM) = G. Kaibel, Supplementum Epigrammatum Graecorum, *Rheinisches Museum*, 34 (1879), 181 ff.

Kaibel, G. Quaestiones Simonideae, *R. M.* 28 (1873), 436 ff.

Kirchhoff, A. Zur Geschichte der attischen Epigrammen, *Hermes* 5 (1871), 48 ff.

Mackail, J. W. Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology. London and New York, 1906.

Von Mess, A. Quaestiones de Epigrammate Attico et Tragoedia Antiquiore Dialecticae. Bonn, 1898.

Olympia = Die Inschriften von Olympia, ed. Dittenberger & Purgold. Berlin, 1896.

Pr = Th. Preger, Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae ex Scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam Collectae. Leipzig, 1891.

REG = *Révue des Études Grecques*.

RM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*.

Reitzenstein = R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion. Giessen, 1893.

Reitzenstein, R., in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, s. v. Epigramm.

Roberts = E. S. Roberts, An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, vol. I. Cambridge, 1887.

Smyth, H. W. Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects; Ionic. Oxford, 1894.

Wagner, R. Quaestiones de Epigrammatis Graecis. Leipzig, 1883.

Weber = L. Weber, *Anacreontea*. Göttingen, 1895.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Ein Altattisches Epigramm, *Hermes*, 20 (1886), 62 ff.

Simonides der Epigrammatiker, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1897, 306 ff.

Wilhelm, A. Simonideische Gedichte, *JOAI* 2 (1899), 221 ff.

The lyric poets are cited by Bergk's numbers; Aeschylus by the edition of Sidgwick (Oxford, 1902); Sophocles by that of Jebb (Cambridge, 1906); Euripides by that of Prinz-Wecklein (Leipzig, 1898-1902); the fragments of the tragic poets by the numbers of Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1889.

² I have consulted the works of Bergk, Berlin, 1872-87; Bernhardt, Halle, 1880; K. O. Müller (ed. Heitz), Stuttgart, 1882; Sittl, Munich, 1884-7; Bender, Leipzig, 1886; Croiset, Paris, 1887-99; Christ, Munich, 1905; Flach, *Ges. d. Gr. Lyrik* nach d. Quellen dargestellt, Tübingen, 1883-4.

³ De Epigrammatis Graeci Historia, Breslau, 1852.

⁴ Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology, London and New York, 1906.

remarkable for beauty of thought or execution. Consequently he has admitted few early epigrams and his arrangement by subject precludes any attempt at chronological order. Reitzenstein, in "Epigramm und Skolion," discussed brilliantly the nature and history of the epigram,⁵ but his interest was chiefly for the work of the Alexandrian period and he treated the early verses only as they could be made to support his original theory about those of later date. A recent article by the same scholar⁶ is by far the most satisfactory presentation of the subject known to me, but the necessity of discussing the whole history of the epigram in a few pages has prevented him from giving much space to the early period or considering individual epigrams to any extent. Moreover, since the publication of the collections of Kaibel, Allen, Preger, and Hoffmann many new epigrams have come to light. These, together with numerous suggestions of various scholars, are scattered in footnotes and separate dissertations, where they easily escape the notice of the general reader.

For these reasons it seemed to me a profitable task to collect the early⁷ epigrams and, so far as I could, to trace the changes which gradually took place in the nature of the epigram and its relation to other branches of literature.

Appended to this paper is a list of epigrams earlier than 300 B. C.⁸ To the material already at hand in the various thesauri I have added such epigrams as I have myself gathered from the chief classical journals published since the appearance of Hoffmann's book in 1893. I trust that no epigram has been omitted for lack of care or diligence on my part, but, even so, I cannot hope that the list will seem complete to every reader. We possess, in the Palatine Anthology and elsewhere, epigrams which give us absolutely no clue to their age, though certain of them may seem to individual scholars to be early.⁹ If any of these are missed, it is because I did not feel warranted in inserting in a list from which historical conclusions were to be drawn, any epigrams which are assigned to an early date merely by the "literary feeling" of this or that scholar. On purely literary grounds it is often possible to say with comparative certainty that an epigram is later than the fifth century; it is practically never possible to say that it is earlier than the third, for the distinctive characteristics of the epigrams composed after 400 B. C. do not make their appearance earlier, while the austere and

⁵ pp. 87 ff.

⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopædie, s. v. Epigramm.

⁷ I. e., those composed before 300 B. C.

⁸ E. g. Pr 64, 65, 206. Cf. PLG 2. 377 ff.

⁹ pp. 45 ff.

simple epigram belongs — in greater or less degree — to all periods. I have also thought it safer to omit epigrams which, though they are extant only in inscriptions of a late period, are thought by some to reproduce early inscriptions.¹⁰

At the end of the list¹¹ I have enumerated the epigrams which, in my opinion, are wrongly attributed to early poets.

When Haenel said that we ought to call no poem an epigram unless we know when it was composed¹² he meant to draw a distinction between epigram, as we commonly use the word, and *ἐπίγραμμα* as used by the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. A Greek epigram¹³ is to most of us any short poem — irrespective of the sentiment expressed — complete in itself and composed in the elegiac metre. Such a poem, Haenel says, would not have been an epigram at all to the Greeks of the sixth century B. C. In this he is of course quite right, for it is clear that the early Greeks would have assented to the definition we find in Suidas — *πάντα τὰ ἐπιγραφόμενά τισι, κὰν μὴ ἐν μέτροις εἰρημένα, ἐπιγράμματα λέγεται*.¹⁴ This continued to be the meaning of the word for a long time, for there is no proof that in Herodotus the word is "on the point of acquiring its literary sense,"¹⁵ if by "literary sense" is meant any sort of poem as distinguished from prose, and that Demosthenes could still apply the term to prose is abundantly evident from his orations.¹⁶ It is not until 94 A. D. that we have actual proof that the word signified a poem in elegiacs. In an inscription of that date discovered near Rome¹⁷ we find the word *ἐπιγράμματα* prefixed to elegiacs to distinguish them from the hexameters which precede. Even in the Palatine Anthology the word appears but twice¹⁸ and the two verses in question — both very late — merely prove that the authors understood epigrams to be poems; they are not in themselves positive evidence that the term included poems which were not inscribed.

Still, that the idea of epigram actually had changed long before 94 A. D., all agree. Collectors of *ἐπιγράμματα* in the third century B. C.

¹⁰ E. g. CIG 1050, 1051. See PLG 2. 238.

¹¹ pp. 55 ff.

¹² p. 18.

¹³ We are not concerned here with the somewhat different coloring of "epigram" as applied to poems in Latin and other languages.

¹⁴ S. v. *ἐπίγραμμα*.

¹⁵ Mackail, p. 1.

¹⁶ E. g. Or. 22. 72; 24. 180.

¹⁷ K 618.

¹⁸ AP 9. 342: *Φημ πολυστιχὴν ἐπιγράμματος οὐ κατὰ Μοῦσας εἶναι· μὴ ζῆτεῖτ' ἐν σταδίῳ δόλιχον.*

AP 9. 369: *Πάγκαλόν ἐστ' ἐπίγραμμα τὸ δίστιχον· ἦν δὲ παρέλθῃς τοὺς τρεῖς, βαψωδεῖς κούκ ἐπίγραμμα λέγεις.*

included in their lists many verses that were never meant to appear on stones. Philochorus¹⁹ and Polemo,²⁰ indeed, seem to have started with the intention of gathering only inscriptions, but Polemo himself admitted at least one poem of a different sort;²¹ and for his contemporaries "*ἐπιγράμματα*" were no longer "inscriptions." We learn this from Athenæus, for when he quotes *ἐπιγράμματα* it is probable that he quotes them by the titles which their authors gave them. In Hedylus,²² Nicaenetus,²³ Posidippus²⁴ we find the name given to convivial poems, and the meaning which the word had assumed in the time of Athenæus himself is clear from many passages.²⁵ In short, among the Greeks epigram came to have an even broader meaning than it has with us.

Under these circumstances, if we should try to trace the history of the form of literature which the Greeks from age to age called epigram, we should be met by almost insurmountable difficulties, since neither the times or the causes of the changes in meaning can be determined with any degree of accuracy. Epigram, then, in this paper will have its later meaning, a short, complete elegiac poem. For if we kept the earliest meaning, we should have to exclude from our consideration all verses except those on stone. This would be most unfortunate, for we are searching for the origin of a particular kind of poem, not of a name, and it is the purpose of this investigation to learn whence the later epigram had its source rather than to discover what finally developed out of the early inscription.

Therefore, for purposes of literary history, it is absurd to deny to the following verses of Theognis²⁶

"Ἀφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι οἳ τε θανόντας
κλαίουσ', οὐδ' ἤβης ἄνθος ἀπολλύμενον,

the name which we give to these lines from the Anthology²⁷

Τοὺς καταλείψαντας γλυκερὸν φάος οὐκέτι θρηγῶ,
τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ προσδοκίῃ ζῶντας αἰεὶ θανάτου.

merely because the former date from the sixth or fifth century while the latter are some centuries younger. The same is the case with many other distichs, e. g.

¹⁹ Suidas, s. v. Φιλόχορος.

²⁰ Athen. 10. 436 d.

²¹ Athen. 10. 442 e: "Ἥλις καὶ μεθύει καὶ ψεύδεται· οἷος ἐκάστω
οἶκος, τοιαύτῃ καὶ συνάπασα πόλις.

²² Athen. 11. 473 a.

²³ Id. 15. 673 b.

²⁴ Id. 10. 415 b.

²⁵ E. g. Athen. 2. 39 c; 3. 125 c; 4. 162 a; 13. 604 f.

²⁶ 1069, 1070.

²⁷ AP 11. 282.

Ἦβα μοι, φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' ἄν τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται
 ἄνδρες· ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι,²⁸

OR

Αἱ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων μελεδωνῶν
 ἐξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.²⁹

All these we should call epigrams, if only we could be sure that they are complete in themselves.

By far the greater number of the extant early epigrams were inscribed so that it becomes necessary to examine all early metrical inscriptions, whether elegiac or not — all elegiacs, whether inscribed or not — that we may learn as accurately as possible what causes went to the making of the later epigram.

It is easy to distinguish the inscribed epigrams (if I may be allowed the apparent pleonasm) of the fifth century and earlier, since the forms of the letters testify to their age. It is harder to be sure of those belonging to the fourth century,³⁰ but usually the style or the content comes to help out any doubtful epigraphical evidence.³¹ When, however, we come to the epigrams which are preserved only in MSS. the case is quite different. In the first place the works of the Greek lyric poets are extant in so fragmentary a condition that very often we are unable to say whether a given distich is a complete poem — i. e. an epigram — or a shred torn from a longer elegy. The difficulty will be obvious if we compare the following verses.

Soph. O. C. 1224-8.

μὴ φῦναι μὲν ἅπαντα νι-
 κᾶ λόγον· τὸ δ' ἐπεὶ φανῇ
 βῆναι κείμεν, ὅθεν περ ἦκει
 πολὺ δεύτερον ὥς τάχιστα

Theog. 425-428

πάντων μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον
 μηδ' εἰσεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἡελίου·

²⁸ Theog. 877, 878.

²⁹ Mimnermus, 6.

³⁰ In the period before 300 B. C. no evidence as to the date is furnished by the arrangement of verses in inscriptions. As early as the sixth century each verse may begin a new line and throughout the period we find epigrams where the verses are not so separated. The latter method is more common in the sixth century, the former in the fifth and fourth. There is no example of an indented pentameter, unless it be 224, v. 2, which in CIA, II, 3. 2339 and in Kumanudes, Insc. Sepulch. Att. 858, is represented as indented one letter. I have not seen the stone.

³¹ From the collections of Kaibel and Allen I have taken no epigrams which those editors do not definitely assign to a date earlier than 300 B. C.

φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα ἵπυλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

AP 9. 359.

Ποίην τις βιάτοιο τάμη τρίβον; . . .

Ἦν ἄρα τοῖνδε δυοῖν ἐνὸς αἵρεσις, ἥ τὸ γενέσθαι
μηδέποτ' ἢ τὸ θανεῖν αὐτίκα τικτόμενον.

Upon examining these passages we can say without hesitation that the first is not an epigram and that the third is, — about the second we are quite at a loss. Sometimes the presence of a particle, as *δέ* or *γάρ*, prevents our including such fragments among epigrams, for in the whole Anthology such a particle introduces only one epigram which is not manifestly corrupt or lacking its original beginning.³² In many cases, however, we are left in doubt, although, even so, it is only in name that they differ from true epigrams. If we should discover for a certainty that they were parts of longer elegies, they would still be of use for historical purposes, since the epigram itself is but a species of elegy.

Epigrams which have been handed down to us in MSS. seem, at first sight, to furnish three kinds of evidence by which we may determine their age. In some famous persons or events are celebrated; some are attributed to known poets; in others we have only the diction or the sentiment to help us. This testimony is not, however, so valuable as it at first appears. It is easy to see how uncertain the first test is, for it merely supplies us with a terminus post quem and, as a matter of fact, of the numerous epitaphs purporting to be those of men of the sixth century not one can with any probability be assigned to a date earlier than the third century.³³ The second test is somewhat surer. Still, when an epigram attributed to Anacreon³⁴ is found inscribed in letters considerably later than the age of that poet, and when poems in praise of the works of Myron³⁵ are assigned to the same author, it is easy to see how blind is the trail we follow. More than this, recent discoveries have proved that certain epigrams of four verses³⁶ preserved

³² AP 9. 547, where *δ'* is evidently inserted for the sake of including all the letters of the alphabet in one and the same verse.

³³ The epitaphs Pr 238–47, which celebrate early sages, are an excellent example of a set of epigrams composed probably by one author at a late period. Cf. also Preger's note, p. 199.

³⁴ 124. (Arabic numerals refer to epigrams on pp. 46 ff.)

³⁵ Anac. 115, 116.

³⁶ 83 (= Sim. 96) and 125 (= Sim. 150).

to us in MSS. originally (i. e. in the fifth century) consisted of only two verses. The joinings had escaped the notice of critics for centuries and it is impossible to say how many more such pieces of patchwork there may be in the Anthology and elsewhere.

And yet to admit all this is not necessarily to believe with many scholars³⁷ that no confidence is to be placed in those MSS. which assign epigrams to definite authors. For, though the tests of authorship which we can apply are most uncertain, still, unless we can bring forward at least highly probable arguments to the contrary, we are bound to give the benefit of the doubt to the only evidence we have. However weak may be the authority of the Palatine Anthology, it is not for us to make it actually testify against itself. Therefore Reitzenstein seems to go too far when he says,³⁸ "Es ist meines Erachtens unmethodisch bei dieser Art Pseudo-tradition auch nur den Beweis der Unechtheit zu verlangen."

There are two reasons why scholars incline to reject the testimony of the Anthology. In the first place they are reluctant to believe that the early poets wrote epigrams at all — a reluctance which has no evidence to support it. When this art was so generally cultivated were the famous poets the ones to neglect it? Because very few epigrams of these poets have come down to us, are we to reject even those that we have? This is to let individual conjecture weigh against probability and, indeed, against some actual evidence. In the second place many seem convinced that the scribes of the Anthology were possessed by a desire to assign every poem to too early a date. This is certainly, however, not the case, for the discovery of a number of epigrams inscribed on stones³⁹ has proved that, even if they are not the work of the particular poets whose names they bear in the Anthology, these names point at least to the approximate dates. In some cases epigrams are actually assigned to too late a period. For example 217 — found inscribed in letters of the fourth century — bears in the Anthology the name of Gaetulicus, a poet, indeed, little known to us, but, if we may judge from the other epigrams attributed to him, much later than the fourth century. Again 123, a poem certainly inscribed in the fifth

³⁷ Wilamowitz (Goett. Nachr. 1897, p. 320): Für uns ist die Consequenz unvermeidlich, dass wir die Autorität selbst der alexandrinischen Sammlung da auch sehr niedrig schätzen, wo die Gedichte selbst keinen unmittelbaren Anstoss geben.

Kaibel (RM 28, p. 441): Cavendum utique igitur est ne citius unquam huic testi (AP) credamus; mendax est ac fallax ut non magis alter.

A. A. Jungbahn, *De Simonidis Cei Epigrammatis Quaestiones* (Berlin, 1869), p. 30: Paene nulla in his rebus fides est Anthologiae.

³⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, p. 80.

³⁹ E. g. 75 and 125.

century, is assigned to no poet at all, so that we may conclude that famous names were not sprinkled over the contents of the Anthology quite so profusely and indiscriminately as some would have us think. Indeed, in all probability, mistakes in authorship come not so much from the perversity of scribes as from confusion and changes in arrangement. Finally, we ought always to bear in mind what gaps there are in our knowledge of Greek literature — gaps which are nowhere wider than in our knowledge of the lyric poets. Under these conditions we ought to give the MSS. at least an unprejudiced hearing.

The third test — that of style — helps us less than one might at first expect. Since the approximate date of the inscribed epigrams can usually be determined with certainty, we should naturally look to them for the standard by which to judge the epigrams preserved only in MSS. But the standard they set is hardly adequate, for while the inscriptions are the work of men widely different in rank, education, and ability, many of the epigrams preserved in MSS. may be the work of famous poets and it would be unfair to deny to a great master the authorship of a given epigram merely because it exhibits more charming sentiment, more graceful diction, more brilliant genius than do the inscriptions composed by ordinary men. Some assistance is given us by the fact that certain formulas seem to leap into favor at certain periods, but any such evidence must be used with caution, for it may be that the original use of a phrase by a great poet gave that phrase its popularity with a later generation.⁴⁰

For our purpose it will be sufficient to determine the age of the epigrams without considering their authorship, but from what has been said above it is evident that even this is difficult enough. It is, therefore, with diffidence that I have approached the task, especially when I remember that certain epigrams which recent discoveries have shown to belong to the fifth century were pronounced late by very excellent scholars.⁴¹ If 217 and 224 had come down to us only in MSS. I venture to think there would be no lack of critics to assign them to a far

⁴⁰ E. g. 19 (= Sappho, 119). Cf. Table III.

⁴¹ Some have even denied that they were inscribed at all. So Kaibel (RM 28, p. 455): *Ante omnia Simonidi abiudicanda cum Bergkio aliis [sic] epp. 95 et 96, manifesto demonstrativa.*

Hauvette, p. 94 (Sim. 108): *A notre avis l'inscription ne peut être ni de Simonide ni même d'un poète du 5^e siècle qui l'aurait composée dans les premières années de la guerre du Péloponnèse.* Cf. Kaibel, RM 28, p. 456.

Hauvette, p. 133 (Sim. 150): *Par sa forme, par les idées qu'elle exprime, et par son style cette pièce ne saurait . . . passer pour une inscription réelle, gravée au début du 5^e siècle sur une statue dans l'académie . . . une telle formule ne convient qu'à une pièce composée après coup à l'occasion d'une offrande.*

later date than the fourth century to which they actually belong. I have therefore tried to err on the side of accepting rather than of rejecting too much. In a case where, so far as internal evidence goes, an epigram might be late or early, the burden of proof rests with those who would assign it to a date later than that indicated by ancient tradition. It is not enough for them to show that it may be late; they must also show that in all probability it is not early. I have not rejected without specific reasons any epigram which any ancient authority assigns to a date earlier than 300 B. C.⁴²

Because of the greater number of hexameter inscriptions of the sixth century, it is necessary to devote more attention to them than to later hexameters.⁴³ The great majority, consisting as they do of a single verse, do not exhibit that difference in feeling which distinguishes the later series of hexameters from the elegy.

In the beginning the Greeks used inscriptions merely as a means of informing the reader as briefly and easily as possible of the reason for setting up the stones on which they were inscribed. Iliad H. 17⁴⁴ is familiar evidence that some sort of epitaph was usual. Doubtless in earliest times merely the names of the dedicator and the divinity or of the dead man and his father were cut upon the stones—a practice which survived in combination with the later custom. Cf. IGA 149 (= H 58) *Καλλία Αιγίθ(θ)οιο· τὴ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ(σ' ὦ) παροδῶτα.*

Thus, although among the Greeks poetry precedes prose as a literary form, it must have been itself preceded by a ruder form of expression. The use of metre testifies to a certain degree of conscious art and therefore we cannot wonder if in the earliest epigrams which we possess some attempt is made to adorn the bare record of facts. The earliest Greek metrical inscriptions ever composed must have represented, not the first attempts to convey certain information in writing, but the first attempts to convey that information in artistic form. Without doubt long before the time from which our earliest inscriptions date poets had composed songs in memory of the dead and had celebrated offerings to the gods.⁴⁵ When the custom arose of inscribing such poems upon stone, those who could not or would not employ the services of professional poets, turned

⁴² See pp. 55 ff.

⁴³ See p. 8.

⁴⁴

*καὶ ποτὲ τις εἴπησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων
ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνεῶτος
ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ.*

The vocabulary of this passage is echoed by the early inscriptions. Cf. 8, 88, 89.

⁴⁵ It is worth while to remember that our earliest Attic inscription is metrical. See AM 6 (1881), p. 107.

poets themselves — they wrote indocti doctique — and the results are what might be expected. Hence the crudeness of some of the verses, which is to be attributed to the particular author, not to antiquity in general. Afterward, when they had become more accustomed to composing and had more models before their eyes, even ordinary men with no greater inspiration than their predecessors acquired greater ease of style and produced fewer rude epigrams. Again the extreme simplicity of many verses is the result of the restraint, not of the lack of skill of the authors, since the Greek of early times felt that only simplicity could be in place in approaching his gods or his dead. So it happens that an epigram very probably written by Anacreon shows the same characteristics as the epigrams on the stones of the Dipylon.⁴⁶

In the simplest epigrams a few common and familiar words fill out the metre, often merely forming a complete sentence of words that in the earliest times had been disconnected. So

Λυσία ἐνθάδε σῆμα πατὴρ Σήμων ἐπέθηκεν⁴⁷

adds nothing to the meaning of the earlier form Λυσία Σήμωνος. In

Στάλα Ξενφάρεος τοῦ Μελίξιος εἴμι' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ⁴⁸

only the words ἐπὶ τύμβῳ are added to the primitive formula.

The same is the case with dedicatory inscriptions, e. g.

Ἀ]λκίβιος ἀνέθηκεν κιθαρωδὸς νησιώτης.⁴⁹

Μνημ'] ἀνέθηκε Τύχανδρος ἀπαρχὴν τάθηναιά.⁵⁰

IGA 410 (= K 1098) perhaps shows most clearly the metrical inscription in the making.

Ἀλξήνω[ρ εἰ]ποίησεν ὁ Νάξιος· ἀλλ' εἰδὲσ[θε].

It is the desire to conform to the fashion of the time that has led the artist to this naïve expression of pride in his work. Epithets of the gods, too, suggest a convenient method of filling out the verse, especially since the poet found them adapted to dactylic measure and ready to his hand. Examples are

Δ]ειναγ[ό]ρης μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι.⁵¹

Ἀθηναίᾳ πολιοῦχῳ⁵²

⁴⁶ Cf. 7 and 20.

⁴⁸ IGA 344 (= K 181).

⁵⁰ CIA IV. 373⁷⁸ p. 86 (= H 240). Cf. IGA 466 (= H 286) and CIA I. 344 (= H 216).

⁵¹ IGA 408 (= H 300).

⁴⁷ CIA I. 468 (= K 5).

⁴⁹ CIA I. 367 (= Roberts 48).

⁵² CIA IV. 373⁸⁶, p. 89.

ἐκῆβόλῳ ἰσχεαίρῃ ⁵³
Ποτ' εἰδᾶσθαι Φάνακτι ⁵⁴

From the very nature of the metre early elegiac inscriptions tend to be more diffuse than hexameters, but in them, too, the addition to the original bare formula may be only the name of the father or some word describing the gift (e. g. *ἄγαλμα*) or some phrase which had come to be a familiar part of the pentameter, e. g. *εὐξάμενος δεκάτην* (32, 36), *παιδὶ χαριζομένη* (15), *παιδὶ Διὸς μεγάλου* (31, 32, 36). Epp. 26 and 32 are two of the many concise distichs in which every word except the epithet gives the reader some definite information.

26. Παλλ]ᾶδι μ' ἐγρεμάχα Διονύσιος τὸ]δ' ἄγαλμα
στῆσε Κολοίου παῖς [εὐξά]μενος δεκάτην. ⁵⁵

In epigrams such as this the art appears in the adoption of a metrical form not, barring the epithet, in the choice of words or the method of expressing the sentiment. Thus 8 is a poem rough and without charm, written with more effort than success,

8. Σῆμ]α τὸδ' (ἐ)γ(γ)ὺς ὁδοῦ Θεοσήμεου [στῆσα- . . .
ἀν]δρὸς ἐμοῦ (γ)ε φίλου κάγαθοῦ ἀνφ[ότερον.

On the other hand 5, though scarcely more ornate, shows a style somewhat easier and freer.

5. Τῇ]δε φῖλ]ην ἄλοχον ὁ δεῖνα] κατέθηκε θανούσαν
Α[αμπι]τῷ αἰδοίην, γῆς ἀπὸ πατρῴης.

Often we find the prayer, which was indeed always in the mind of a Greek, that the divinity may be graciously pleased to return an equivalent for the gift offered. ⁵⁶ Now it is good report that is desired —

42. δὸς δέ F ἰν ἀνθρώποις δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθ(ά)ν, ⁵⁷

now gain —

38. πότ]να τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῷ σὺ δὸς ἀφθονίαν,

now we find expressed that craving to be remembered among men, ⁵⁸ to which, indeed, the very existence of the stones bears witness.

Of a different sort are epp. 1, 2, and 11.

2. Ἄνθ]ρωπε δε (σ)τείχε[ι]ς καθ' ὁδὸν φρασὶν ἄλ(λ)α μενοινῶν
στῆθι καὶ οἰκτιρον σῆμα Θράσωνος ἰδών.

11. Σῆ]μα Φρασικλείας. κοῦρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεὶ
ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα.

⁵³ IGA 407 (= H 299).

⁵⁴ IGA 20, 12 (= H 293).

⁵⁵ Cf. 10, 22, 40.

⁵⁶ In a late epigram (AP 6. 42) we read even δὸς πλέον ὦν ἔλαβες.

⁵⁷ Cf. 27, 43.

⁵⁸ 24.

It is not only that these verses are far more charming than any yet quoted, but we can see in them the beginnings of that principle which characterizes the elegy in contrast to the epic. For the epic, with all its simplicity and directness of construction, depends for much of its effect on sonorous and splendid words, while the charm of the elegy is in familiar, even intimate sentiment never overshadowed by mere magnificence of vocabulary. Even in these poems, bare and brief as they are, it is the personal feeling of the writer that is expressed, and expressed with pathos all the more touching because of the simple means employed. In hexameters, even those which express grief, the writer is telling a story, he is objective; in the elegiacs he is subjective. Cf. the following poems.

Πραξιτέλει τόδε μνῆμα Φίσων ποίησε θανάτῳ ·
τ' οὔτο δ' ἑταῖροι σᾶμα χεῖαν βα[ρ]έα στενάχοντες,
Γέργων ἀντ' ἀγ[α]θῶν, κῆπάμερον ἐξετέλεσ(σ)αν.⁵⁹

Παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο Κ[λεοί]του τοῦ Μενεσαίχμου
μνῆμ' ἑσπρῶν οἴκτιρ' ὥς καλὸς ὦν ἔθανε.⁶⁰

Passion as well as pathos is expressed in elegiacs and the author of 38 went so far as to threaten the enemies of the dedicator with human or divine anger, for the general sense is plain, though the last verse is mutilated.

οἱ τε λέγ[ου]σι λόγους ἀδίκ[ους] ψευδᾶς κα[τ'] ἐκ[είνου].

In 8 the writer even comes forward in the first person.

These examples are enough to show that as early as the sixth century men entrusted to the stones their thoughts and griefs and desires.⁶¹ Compressed and restrained though most of the epigrams are, there is in them the personal element, the lyric quality, which comes out more freely in the work of the fourth century and later.

The first traces of poetic color come less, perhaps, from deliberate art than from almost unconscious imitation. In 6 — ἐν θάνατο[ς] δακρυ[δ]εῖς καθ[έ]χει — and in IGA 15 (= K 463a. add.), τὸν ὤλεσε πόντος ἀναιδής, the well-known epic vocabulary shows the absence of originality in the writer. The words or phrases were ready to his hand as familiar to his readers as to himself, and he is a poet because he chose to use them in his verses, not because he made them or used them in any

⁵⁹ IA 800.

⁶⁰ 7. Cf. 1 and 2.

⁶¹ Cf. also CIA IV. p. 118 (= K 19), the only hexameter inscription which belongs to this class.

Ἐνθάδ' ἀνὴρ ὤμο(σ)εν τὰ λόρκια παιδὸς ἑρα[σ]θ[ε]ί[ς]
νείκεα συγμε[ί]σ[γειν] πόλεμόν θ' ἄμα δακρυόεντα, κ. τ. λ.

way peculiarly his own. On the other hand, 11, 17, 23, 43, 46 differ from the verses just quoted in that the writers have somehow managed to make their own the familiar expressions. 43 will illustrate —

Δέξο Φάναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα
 ἰλήφθ' θνυμῷ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ.

But in spite of the simplicity of these early epigrams, their variety is remarkable. The same ideas are expressed, the same words used, in a number of constructions, e. g. the name of the dead and of the divinity appear each in four cases,⁶² that of the dedicator in three. Now it is the tomb or statue that speaks — now the buried man or the dedicator; now the god, now the passer-by is addressed.

We possess a few early epigrams which show greater poetic power, poems where art and elegance seemed to the authors as important as utility. An example is the well-known 25 —

*Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδίων δαμάσαντες
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων, ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου,
 δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχνοέντι σιδερέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
 τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν —

an epigram which approaches more nearly those of the next century, because phrases like *ἔθνεα δαμάσαντες*, *ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου*, *ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν* give to the whole poem a poetic coloring.

Appended to this paper are tables showing the elements which appear more or less constantly in the inscriptional epigrams. It is remarkable how definitely they speak, how consistently they keep the reason for their existence before our eyes. In the sepulchral inscriptions we find always the name of the dead (but it is in the verses themselves, never *extra metrum*);⁶³ always some word meaning "tomb," except in the

⁶² See Tables I, II.

⁶³ Koehler thinks that in 10 the name of the dead was omitted in the verses and inscribed above them. His restoration, however, is by no means certain and it seems to me more reasonable to suppose it faulty than to accept on conjecture a reading which would make the inscription an exception, not only in the sixth but in the fifth century, at least as far as we can tell from the evidence at our command. The only inscription that could possibly support Koehler's view is 12.

. ἦν γὰρ ἀπάσης
 νοῦν τε καὶ ἀνδρ[ε]ῶν ἐξοχος ἡλικίας
 *Ἐπ[ιστήμων τὸδ' ἐπὶ]κεῖ Ἰπ[πο]σ[τράτ]του σῆμα.

This is, however, not a parallel, for the name almost certainly appeared in the missing part of the hexameter and it appears below, not as part of the epitaph, repeating *extra metrum* information already given in verse, but as part of a second and separate inscription with quite a different function.

very early epigram 1, where, however, the language indicates plainly that the verses were inscribed on a tomb. Almost always we find some word meaning "dead" (e. g. *θανών, φθίμενος*). In dedicatory inscriptions we may expect to find the name of the dedicator,⁶⁴ the name of a divinity, a verb of dedication. In 24 the last element is lacking, but it must have been sufficiently evident from the place where the stone was set up that it was a dedicatory offering.

Ἄστων θαλ(λ)όντων, πολίτοχε πότνι' Ἀθάνα,
Σμίκρον καὶ παίδων μνήμ' ἔχοι ἦδε πόλις.

For these reasons, then, we are justified in refusing to assign to this early period any epigrams preserved in MSS. only, which would require for the explanation or completion of their meaning any words on the stone *extra metrum*. In the case of dedicatory epigrams the information given in the verses may be supplemented by inferences drawn from the places where the stones were set up. So we sometimes miss the verb of dedicating, as in 24. This is especially likely to be the case when the dedicatory offering takes the form of an honorary statue.⁶⁵ The epigrams of the fifth century show that the verb of dedicating was regularly omitted in inscriptions for such statues.

Of the epigrams preserved only in MSS. the great majority were intended to be inscribed. We observe in them the same stages of development as in the inscriptions, although in neither case does fuller development necessarily indicate later date.⁶⁶ 53 is as severely simple as any verse carved on stone.

Πραξαγόρας τάδε δῶρα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε Λυκαίου
υἱός· ἐποίησεν δ' ἔργον Ἀναξαγόρας.

19 expresses with greater elaboration, but with no greater charm, the same sentiment as 11. The very fact that of the epigrams attributed to illustrious poets some are as brief and severe as the inscriptions, while others are more elaborate, may serve as an indication at least that they are correctly attributed. 49, Archilochus's *unico flore, nato di due petali soli*, could hardly be simpler.

⁶⁴ In 42 the words *ὁ κεραμεύς* take the place of the name of the dedicator. The appearance of the name itself below is due to the fact that the same man was both dedicator and potter. In other words *Νικέμαχος* does not repeat the name of the dedicator, but adds, in a separate inscription, the name of the potter. Cf. also n. 63.

⁶⁵ 45. Cf. 61, 62. Cf. p. 22.

⁶⁶ For example 1, probably the oldest elegiac inscription, is one of the longest and most elaborate.

Ἀλκιβίη πλοκάμων ἱερὴν ἀνέθηκε καλύπτρην
 "Ἡρῇ, κουριδίων εὐτ' ἐκύρησε γάμων.⁶⁷

In 66 we have a bare formula clothed in poetic language.

Ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρως, σοὶ τόνδ' ἰδρύσατο πρῶτος
 Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου.⁶⁸

In 50, as in 25, the poet has taken pleasure in merely exhibiting his skill in composing. 56, which describes a painting or a relief, is important as an early example of a style of epigram very common later.⁶⁹ 59 and 60 are by far the most ornate of the early epigrams, but even here the ornament is applied to quite common and familiar phrases.⁷⁰ In 63 and 64 — the well-known Hipparchus epigrams — we may fancy we see the influence of Solon or some other worthy, or we may agree with Professor Gildersleeve that the "moralizing is national. No Greek lets us off from that."⁷¹

Nearly all conform to the requirements laid down above.⁷² In 49 and 55 we may perhaps miss *τῇδε* or some such word, but we miss it equally in 24. The dedicatory inscriptions, because usually set up in temples or on sacred ground, are often less definite in the information they give.⁷³ So in 65 — as in 24 — the word of dedicating is lacking; no one, however, could doubt that it was meant to be inscribed. 21 breaks entirely with the established form, but its contents are such that even if we admit that it was actually inscribed,⁷⁴ we cannot expect to judge it by the same tests as the other epitaphs.

Εἰμὶ νεκρὸς, νεκρὸς δὲ κόπρος, γῇ δ' ἡ κόπρος ἐστίν·
 εἰ δ' ἡ γῇ θεός ἐστ', οὐ νεκρὸς ἀλλὰ θεός.

68–73 are manifestly neither sepulchral nor dedicatory. They are not inscriptional at all. But the fact that they are not inscriptions is no

⁶⁷ Cf. 51, 52, 54, 57, 58, 61.

⁶⁸ Cf. 55, 62.

⁶⁹ We have no evidence as to whether this epigram was actually inscribed. The only inscription of this nature (47) is too mutilated to serve as a model and the omission of any indication in the verses themselves that they were inscribed is not more strange than the same omission in the verses that accompanied honorary statues. See p. 17. Cf. also p. 47, n. 169. For later epigrams of this kind cf. APl 200, 207.

⁷⁰ With 59 cf. 66; with 60 cf. 34, 42.

⁷¹ Pindar, Olympian and Pythian Odes, p. 129.

⁷² pp. 16 ff.

⁷³ Cf. p. 17.

⁷⁴ If we do not regard this as a possible sentiment for an actual epitaph, we must suppose the verses later than the 6th century. See pp. 19 ff.; cf., however, the Latin inscription cited by M. Haupt (Opusc. 2. 190).

Cinis sum, cinis terra est, terra dea est;
 Ergo ego mortua non sum.

reason for rejecting them as epigrams in our sense of the word. They ought to be all the more carefully examined because they are few and treasured as the seeds from which the later epigram sprang. So in 68-70 we have early examples of satiric epigram.

E. g. 69.

Καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου · Χίοι κακοί · οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὅς δ' οὐ,
πάντες πλὴν Προκλέους · καὶ Προκλῆς δὲ Χίος.

Reitzenstein ⁷⁵ claims that the later satiric epigram grew out of jests at banquets; it is at least equally probable that it merely continued such epigrams as these, which give no indication that they were convivial witticisms, though they may have been. 72 is one of the ancestors of the later narrative epigram.

There remains ep. 74, a poem which I cannot think was ever inscribed in the sixth century, because it contains no word for "tomb" or any other indication that the verses are an epitaph.

Ἀβδήρων προθανόντα τὸν αἰνοβίην Ἀγάθωνα
πᾶς' ἐπὶ πυρκαϊῆς ἥδ' ἐβόησε πόλις ·
οὔτινα γὰρ τοιόνδε νέων ὁ φιλαίματος Ἄρης
ἠνάρισεν στυγερῆς ἐν στροφάλιγγι μάχης.

For the same reason I cannot regard it as an early epideictic epitaph. Such poems, i. e. epigrams not meant to be inscribed themselves, but imitating inscriptions, are, I take it, of two sorts. They may be accurate imitations of real inscriptions — exercises, as it were, in writing epitaphs or dedications. In this case they are composed merely to display the author's skill, which would be hardly worth displaying if he tripped in a matter so simple as an essential word or formula. Or (the second possibility) the aim of such a poem may be, not the accurate imitation of an inscription, but the use in a general way of the inscriptional form as a vehicle for jest or satire — a parody rather than an imitation of an inscription. In this case it is not the difference in form but the difference in content that marks the verses as epideictic. Moreover, so long as men considered primarily the utility of the epigram they were not likely to compose epideictic epigrams. For these reasons, if 74 was intended as an epitaph, real or imitative, it cannot belong to the sixth century, since it omits an element found in all actual epitaphs of that century and yet gives no further evidence that it is of an epideictic character. It is, however, quite possible that the poem has no reference to a tomb at all. If this is so, there is no reason

⁷⁵ Epigramm u. Skolion, p. 92.

why it cannot belong to an early date, since it would be a short elegy. That these existed in early times we cannot reasonably deny, especially when we reflect that many fragments of Theognis may be separate poems.⁷⁶

The vocabulary of the sixth century epigram is drawn largely from words of every day, but many words are borrowed from the epic, e. g. *δακρυόεις* (6), *ἔξοχος* (12), *κάρτερος* (20), *πολιόχοι* (24), *ἐγρεμάχα* (26), *κρατερόφρονι* (39), *κουριδίων* (49), *εὐρυχόροιο* (51). Cf. also 1 — *εἴτε ξένος ἄλλοθεν ἐλθών* with *Od. η. 33* — *ὅς κ' ἄλλοθεν ἔλθῃ*; *Od. η. 52* — *εἰ καὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι*; *Od. ρ. 382* — *ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθών* and cf. 8 — *ἀνδρὸς ἐμοῦ γε φίλου κἀγαθοῦ ἀμφοτέρων* — with *Il. γ. 179*. *ἀμφοτέρων βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής*.⁷⁷

There are also some words which occur not in epic but in lyric poetry. These are *ποντομέδων* (23), *χρυσοστρίαν'* (23), *ἀμειψές* (46), *κλειός* (45), *εὐκλείσον* (50).

Sometimes, as it is quite natural, the words or sentiments of the elegy are echoed by the epigram. Cf.

42 δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθάν.	Solon 13. 4 δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν.
15 παιδὶ χαριζομένη.	Theog. 774 παιδὶ χαριζόμενος.
K. 742 ἔχοι κλέος ἀπθιτον αἰφεῖ.	" 867 μέγα κλέος οὐποτ' δλείται.
50 εὐκλείσον γενεάν	Tyrt. 12, 24 πατέρ' εὐκλείσας.

Words which are *ἄπαξ λελεγμένα* are enumerated below.⁷⁸

Even from the small number of seventh and sixth century epigrams which we possess we see that certain combinations of words had already crystallized into recognized formulas⁷⁹ — an indication of the great popularity of the inscribed poem.

The epigrams of the fifth century still contain nearly all the information that the reader needs. In the epitaphs we have always the name of the dead, always some indication that the verses are inscribed, but actual synonyms for "dead" and for "tomb" are often missing, though the idea may be expressed in different form. E. g. *οἶδε* (81), *κείται* (78), *ἐνθάδ'* (79), and less clearly 75, 83, 86. In some cases it would be difficult to tell from the contents alone whether the verses were intended for a tomb or for an honorary statue,⁸⁰ but the phraseology never leaves any doubt that they were inscribed somewhere. These considerations make it, in my judgment, impossible to accept as genuine Sim

⁷⁶ Cf. pp. 7 ff.

⁷⁷ Cf. also Pindar, *Olymp. VI. 17*, *ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι*. For epic forms see pp. 40 ff.

⁷⁸ p. 36.

⁷⁹ See Table III.

⁸⁰ E. g. 75, 81, 86 and among the epigrams in MSS. 96, 102, 104, 109, 113–115.

101 and 114. In 101 there is not the slightest indication that the verses are an inscription.

Παῖδες Ἀθηναίων Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐξελάσαντες
ἤρκεσαν ἀργαλήν πατρίδι δουλοσύνην.

Cf. with this ep. 96 (= Sim. 91) where τῇδε supplies just what is lacking in Sim. 101.⁸¹

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριακοσΐαις ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

In Sim. 114 the name of the dead man does not appear at all and I cannot feel with Mackail ⁸² that its place is adequately supplied by ὁ μὲν.

Ἡερίη Γεράνεια, κακὸν λέπας, ὥφελεν Ἰστρὸν
τῇλε καὶ ἐς Σκυθίων μακρὸν ὄραν Τανάιν,
μηδὲ πέλας ναίειν Σκειρωνικὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης
ἀγέα μαινομένης ἀμφὶ Μολουριάδα.
νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἐν πόντῳ κρυερὸς νέκυς, οἱ δὲ βαρεῖαν
ναυτιλίην κενεοὶ τῇδε βοῶσι τάφοι.⁸³

⁸¹ Not every epigram which contains τῇδε, οἶδε, or similar words is necessarily an epitaph, real or epideictic, since these words might occur in a merely reflective poem and indicate that the author composed it with the tomb before his eyes; but every epitaph must contain some such indication of place.

⁸² p. 364.

⁸³ Mackail (l. c.) quotes K 89 in support of his theory and thinks that "τόνδε in that epigram is like the ὁ μὲν of Simonides here":

Σῆμα τόδ' ἐν κενῇ κείται χθονὶ [σῶμα δ' ἐπ' ἀγροῦ
Ἦρελον κρύπτει πυρκαϊῇ φθιμένον.
Τόνδ' ἐτι παπταίνοντ' ἐπὶ γούνασι πατρὸς μάρψας
Ἄιδης οἱ σκοτίας ἀμφέβαλεν πτέρνγας, κτλ.

A comparison of the two poems makes it evident at once that they are not parallel and, even if they were, K 89 is later than Simonides. In inscriptions the name is never omitted till the fourth century and very rarely then (five times. See Table I.) For arguments against Bergk's theory that the opening of the epigram, which contained the name, is missing, see Mackail (l. c.).

Wilamowitz (Goett. Nachr. 1897, pp. 306 ff.) thinks that this is proved genuine by an imitation by Callimachus (Call. 17 = AP 7. 271).

Ἦφελε μὴδ' ἐγένοντο θοαὶ νέες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς
παῖδα Διοκλείδου Σώπολον ἐστένομεν.
νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν εἰν ἀλλ' οὐ φέρεται νέκυς, ἀντὶ δ' ἐκείνου
ὄνομα καὶ κενὸν σῆμα παρερχόμεθα.

But the case is more likely to be reversed, and we have in Callimachus the model which the nameless poet of Simonides 114 copied. See also Hauvette, pp. 102 ff.

In the dedicatory inscriptions of the fifth century we find always the name of the dedicator, always some verb of dedicating. The name of the divinity is, however, frequently omitted, since the site of the stone made it sufficiently clear to whom the offering was made. In the epigrams preserved in MSS. we sometimes miss the verb of dedicating also. In 158 *δώροισι* may be said to take its place, but in 144, 167, 169, 170, 181 there is no such equivalent. These epigrams are all, however, quite as much honorary as dedicatory and conform to the type of such verses in the sixth century.⁸⁴

Thus far the epigrams of the fifth century do not differ much from the earlier ones in the elements which they contain. There is, however, one important point of difference, — the name of the dead or of the dedicator is sometimes repeated *extra metrum*.⁸⁵ This means that the epigram is no longer primarily a means of giving necessary information, but an ornament. Reitzenstein indeed says,⁸⁶ "Dennoch ist noch bis über die Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts hinaus das Epigramm keine anerkannte Form der Kunstdichtung," but he gives no proof of his statement. On the contrary, the moment the name was added *extra metrum* the epigram must have been regarded as a poem rather than as a poetic label. 81 shows this clearly. The names of the fallen warriors and the place where they fell were inscribed first. There was no need of anything further. A poem, however, was added giving the same information in verse, because thus the monument was made more splendid. The names of the individual dead are necessarily omitted in these lines, but in private monuments, as stated above,⁸⁷ the name is never omitted in the epigram. To be sure, occasionally information not contained in the epigram is added *extra metrum*, but it is never information essential to the interpretation of the epigram.⁸⁸ An interesting example is 138, where the name of the author was inscribed on the stone, — a peculiarity which does not occur again till the second century B. C.

But in spite of this difference between the epigrams of the fifth and those of the sixth century, we must not suppose that the poems of the two periods are sharply divided by an impassable barrier. The simple epigram continues to exist, e. g.

78. 'Ενθάδ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς κεῖται Καλλιστράτου υἱός,
Καλλίμαχος φυλ(ῆ)ς Κεκροπί(δ)ος Μελιτεύς.

131. Εἰϋχὰν ἐκτελέσαντι Διονύσῳ Νεομήδης,
ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν μνάμ' ἀνέθηκε τότε.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ See p. 17. Cf. ep. 24.

⁸⁷ p. 20.

⁸⁵ 78, 79, 84, 135.

⁸⁶ Cf. 84, 135.

⁸⁸ Ep. u. Sk., p. 121.

⁸⁹ Cf. 80, 82, 122, 123.

Such epigrams are common to all periods. Cf. K 139, which dates from the Roman period :

Στήλλην Παρθ[ε]νόπης ἴδιος γαμέτης ἐπόησεν
Δαίτης ἀλόχ[ω] τούτο χαρίζομενος.⁹⁰

Thus 89 is hardly more elaborate than 17, and 126, 127, 133, 135 are exceedingly simple. A new feature, however, is the tendency of poets to make the epigram longer by simply spreading out their material over a larger space.

In the earlier epigrams something, no matter how brief, was *added* to fill out the distich; now the amplifying process is often adopted. See, for example, 128, of which the pentameter, πατρὶ δὲ τῷ τήνου Δαμοφύων ὄνομα, might be expressed in one word, Δαμοφύοντος. In the pentameter τόνδε θε(ᾶ)ι τῇδε, ἢ τόδ' (ᾗ)χει τέμενος (127), ἢ τόδ' ἔχει τέμενος merely repeats τῇδε.

Epigrams of four verses begin to be very frequent, and the four verses are filled in various ways. Sometimes the material here is diluted, as in the examples cited above. Cf. 93, where the author has spread over four verses a sentiment which is expressed with perfect ease in two verses by the author of 5. Sometimes the material is not diluted but elaborated, e. g. 75, 90, 138. Sometimes new material is added, as in 77 b, c, 81, 86, 132.

But it is not only the vocabulary and the sentiments that have come down from the earlier time. The poetic color which distinguishes the work of this century appeared earlier in poems like 25, and the development of the epigram is thus unbroken, though without doubt the achievements and the glory of the Persian wars were an inspiration to the poets of that age. For with the beginning of the fifth century a new spirit was breathed into all Greece. To say that men suddenly woke to the realization that the individual was but a part of one great nation, and recognized that the liberty bequeathed to them by their fathers was a national possession, a κτῆμα ἐς αἰετός, in defence of which every man must cast aside personal considerations — this is to repeat what has been said again and again. But nowhere, except in the "Persians" of the warrior poet, can we trace more clearly the fierce valor, the burning patriotism, the indomitable pride than in the epigrams of the time. They form a little group set apart from other epigrams, for in them we miss the individualistic tone which otherwise characterizes the epigram from the beginning to the end of its history. Before this men involuntarily and almost unconsciously had laid stress on the individual and his thoughts and feelings; later they were to do

⁹⁰ Cf. also K 134, 791.

the same thing with more self-conscious art and set purpose; but the men of this age carried their disregard of the individual as compared with the state even into that form of poetry which had been most individualistic. Even the sepulchral epigrams are no exception. When grief is expressed it is the grief of the state, rarely of individuals.⁹¹ It is sometimes said that Simonides brought in a new kind of epigram.⁹² Whether Simonides wrote all the epigrams attributed to him is a matter for dispute, but it cannot be disputed that not Simonides but the spirit and purpose of the age furnished the material for those epigrams. Eloquence and grandeur of expression he or some other poet may have contributed, but the spirit was the spirit of all Greece.⁹³

The epigram at this period reached the height of its splendor. 83, one of the noblest that have come down to us, is indeed strikingly simple:

*ὦ ξένη, εὐδρόν ποτ' ἐναίμενος ἄστυ Ὀρίνθου
νῦν δ' ἄμ' Αἰάντος νῆσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς,

but this simplicity is of a different kind from that of 17 and 20. With set purpose the pride of the dead is, as it were, imitated in the verses, and thus the very simplicity becomes the most perfect art. That this is characteristic of the fifth century is shown by the fact that two epigrams attributed to Simonides, originally consisting each of one simple distich, were lengthened by later writers, and thus lost much of their magnificence.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Cf. 77 c, 79, 86, 87, 88 with 1, 2, 6, 7.

⁹² On the epigrams of Simonides, see Kaibel, Junghahn, Hiller, Hauvette, Bergk, Boas, Wilamowitz, Wilhelm (see n. 1).

⁹³ Cf. Reitzenstein, p. 106: Der Versuch aus der Geschichte des Epigramms die entscheidende Persönlichkeit des Simonides zu streichen, indem man ihm nur lässt, was der dünnen und dürrtigen Form aus dem sechsten Jahrhundert von namenlosen Privatleuten gesetzten Inschriften entspricht, weist die überraschende Fortbildung des Epigramms und die Bildung der neuen auf Jahrhunderte hinaus wirksamen Formen nur nicht dem grossen Dichter, welchen hierfür das Altertum kennt, sondern namenlosen, wenig jüngeren Zeitgenossen desselben zu.

Cf. Wilamowitz (Goett. Nachr.), 1897, p. 320: Der damals ziemlich allerorten in Hellas für die metrischen Aufschriften geltende Stil verdient das hohe Lob, das bisher der Person des Simonides gezollt ward.

⁹⁴ 83 and 125. To these Wilhelm (JOAI 2, pp. 221 ff.) would add (with great probability) 99 and 193, and (less likely) 101, 105, 109. See also Wilamowitz (Goett. Nachr., 1897, pp. 306 ff.). Boas (p. 109) has shown that the later addition to 83 was imitated from 99, and the spurious part of 99 from the genuine lines of 83. The motive which caused the lengthening of 83 and 125 was evidently the desire to give in the epigram certain definite and important facts which were often found in inscriptions. The additions (?) in 99 and 193 could be accounted for in the same way, but such is not the case with 101, 105, 109, where the last verses do not add facts at all.

More ornate are 77 b, c, 81, 86, 132, 138.

In this century tragedy and rhetoric were coming more and more to the front, and we can begin to trace their influence in the epigram. This appears at first more in general sentiment and style of composition than in particular words or phrases. The tragic poets have had their effect on such epitaphs as 77 c, 79–81, 86. Cf. any one of these with 90, — an epigram quite untouched by this influence and carrying on the somewhat rude simplicity together with the phraseology of earlier inscriptions. Tragedy and rhetoric alike have helped to give us the antitheses and the metaphors in 77 b, *Αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς . . . σώματα δὲ χθών*; ⁹⁵ 77 c, *Ἀνδρας μὲν . . . ψυχὰς δέ, ψυχὰς δ' ἀντίρροπα θέντες ἡ[λλ]άξαν' ἀρετήν*.⁹⁶ That this influence should appear first in epitaphs is natural enough, since the emotions of pity, grief, and affection are capable of more poetic treatment than the somewhat cool gratitude of the dedicatory inscriptions. However, in a few of the dedications preserved in MSS. we find poetic touches.⁹⁷

In the inscriptions of this century the same formulas appear repeatedly, and not only those that are simple and almost essential, but often those that are more elaborate and original.⁹⁸

The epigrams which are preserved in MSS. show the same tendencies as the inscriptions. A few are very simple. So —

110. *Σῆμα Θεόγνιδός εἰμι Σινωπέος, ᾧ μ' ἐπέθηκεν
Γλαῦκος ἐταυρεῖης ἀντὶ πολυχρονίου.*

153. *Ταῦτ' ἀπὸ δυσμενίων Μήδων ναῦται Διοδώρου
ἔπλ' ἀνέθεν Λατοῖ μνάματα ναυμαχίας.*⁹⁹

Some are diluted, e. g. 175.¹⁰⁰ Some are made more ornate, e. g. 145.¹⁰¹ In some, as in 148, new material is added.¹⁰² Elaborate and

but merely pad what has gone before. It is, moreover, impossible to base upon the evidence of two poems (which alone are *proved* to have been lengthened) any conclusions that will enable us to detect with certainty similar pieces of patchwork among the epigrams preserved only in MSS., especially as we possess inscriptions of the fifth century which contain genuine lines of much the same character as the spurious lines of 83 and 125 (e. g. 75 and 79). Without the proof, which discovery of the actual stones alone can give, we have only the merest conjecture to go upon.

⁹⁵ Cf. Eur. Suppl. 543, *πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν*. The Suppliants was produced twelve years after the battle commemorated in ep. 77, but the sentiment of the inscription is tragic. See G. H. Macurdy, *Classical Weekly*, March 6, 1909, p. 139.

⁹⁶ Cf. Aesch. Ag. 438: *ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωματών
καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορός.*

⁹⁷ E. g. 145, 148, 164.

⁹⁸ Cf. 111, 149, 150.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 95, 102, 103, 105, 108, 112, 152.

⁹⁹ See Table III.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 109, 157, 168.

¹⁰² Cf. 102, 164, 167, 169.

sometimes artificial diction, which becomes more and more common, may add beauty to the verses, but at times the imitator falls far short of the splendor of his master, and produces a poem mediocre in comparison with his noble model. Cf. for example 103 and 104 :

103. Ἀσβεστον κλέος οἶδε φίλῃ περὶ πατρίδι θίνες
κνάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλοντο νέφος·
οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετῇ καθύπερθευ
κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἰλίδεω.

104. Κυανὴ καὶ τοῦσδε μενέγχεας ὤλεσαν ἄνδρας
μοῖρα, πολύρρηνον πατρίδα ῥυομένους,
ζῶν δὲ φθιμένων πέλεται κλέος, οἳ ποτε γνῶσις
τλήμονες Ὀσσαίαν ἀμφέσαντο κόιν.

The two epigrams employ the same figures and almost the same phraseology, both show the strong influence of rhetoric; and yet the superiority of the former is as remarkable as it is apparent.¹⁰³ Cf. also 81 and 109, which show that it is one thing to ornament and elaborate a given theme and quite another to dilute it.

So in 102 and 103 rhetoric has lent a certain grandeur to the verses; in 106 the fine lines are marred by the almost frigid beginning. In 102, 103, 148 the elaboration is vivid and virile, in 105 it is labored if not actually inept.

In 158, as in 125, by the device of directly addressing the dedicator a certain life and eloquence is given to the epigram, although the words themselves are plain enough.

Εὐχέοι τοι δώροισι, Κύτων, θεὸν ὧδε χαρῆναι
Λητοίην ἀγορῆς καλλιχόρου πρύτανιν,
ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ξείνων τε καὶ οἱ ναίουσι Κόρινθον
αἶνον ἔχεις χαρίτων, δέσποτα, τοῖς στεφανοῖς.

The noble simplicity of 83 is rivalled by the proud humility of 94 :

ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

There are also epigrams which approach more nearly the style of many verses of the fourth century, where the uninspired author has tried to make up for his limitations by filling with added details the space he could not fill with poetic charm and color, e. g.

166. Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ' ἄγαλμα· δικόσθαι γὰρ ὁ μισθός
δραχμαὶ τὰ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος —
ἀσκητῶς ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖς παλάμῃσιν
Ἄξιος Ἀρεσίῃα νῆδος Ἀριστοδίκου.

¹⁰³ See p. 49, n. 176.

So 171 and 174, in spite of a few happy touches, for the most part drag hopelessly.

In epigrams earlier than 300 we have almost nothing of that half-reverential, half-intimate affection for nature which is part of the charm of so much of the later work. We find in the fifth century but one metaphor drawn from nature, — that of the harvest of war (81). When special localities are mentioned, now and then a picturesque word or phrase accompanies them; e. g. ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ελικῶνος (98), Δίρφυος ὑπὸ πτυχί (101), σκοπέλοισιν Ἀθω (163). 191 is the first epigram which frankly enlarges on the beauty of nature, and 164 first expresses the simple confidence of man in natural forces:

164. Εὐδημος τὸν νηὸν ἐπ' ἄγρου τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν
τῷ πάντων ἀνέμων πιστάτῳ Ζεφύρῳ,
εὐξαμένῳ γάρ οἱ ἦλθε βοαθόος, ὄφρα τάχιστα
λικμήσῃ πεπόνων καρπὸν ἀπ' ἀσταχύν.

The general tone of this epigram is so strikingly like that of many later verses ¹⁰⁴ that it is tempting to assign it to the third century, especially as even the fourth century offers no parallels to it. There is in it, however, nothing which we can fairly say *could* not have been written in the fifth century, and Jebb ¹⁰⁵ decides that there is nothing to prevent its having been written by Bacchylides himself.

We possess, too, many epigrams attributed to the fifth century which were never meant to be inscribed. These are of various sorts. The well-known 188 is a true *παίγνιον*:

Ἄκρον ἱητρὸν Ἄκρων, Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατρὸς ἄκρου,
κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης —

but there are no good grounds for rejecting it, especially when we remember that Lasus is said to have indulged in a similar *tour de force* in the shape of a poem which did not contain the letter σ. ¹⁰⁶

189 is the first epitaph that we have a right to call epideictic:

πολλὰ φάγων καὶ πολλὰ πιὼν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ' εἰπὼν
ἀνθρώπους, κείμει Τιμοκρίων Ῥόδιος.

Anyone can see that this was not meant to be inscribed, but it imitates an inscription so far as the form is concerned. Of the same character is 190, which obviously parodies 189. Such poems could be composed when the sepulchral epigram was considered an ornament

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Mackail's section II.

¹⁰⁵ In his edition of Bacchylides.

¹⁰⁶ See Christ, *Gr. Lit.-Ges.* ⁴ p. 193.

rather than a necessity, and not before. Then poets began to cultivate this branch of literature as they would any other. We are not forced to the conclusion that such poems were always "*παίγνια* beim Gelage."¹⁰⁷ The *παίγνιον* of course sometimes imitated the form of an inscription; the epigram quoted by Reitzenstein (Ep. u. Sk., p. 99) is obviously a *παίγνιον* which has usurped the form of an inscription, not an inscription perverted into a *παίγνιον*. Short elegies came finally to be called epigrams, not because *παίγνια* usually imitated inscriptions, nor because most inscribed verses were elegiac (for in the fourth century other metres again came to the front), but because by far the greater number of short elegies were actually inscribed — which is a very different matter. I am unable to see why Reitzenstein holds¹⁰⁸ that epideictic epigrams could not be composed till inscriptions were collected in book form. Surely it is conceivable that verses on stone pleased men and suggested imitation just as readily as did verses written on parchment; nor did the love of parody make its first appearance in the fourth century.

The poems just discussed (189, 190) show by their content, not by their form, that they are epideictic. They conform, therefore, to the principle laid down above.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, 191 and 192, which differ from actual epitaphs only in form, i. e. by the omission of any indication that the verses were inscribed, cannot have been intended by the authors even as imitative inscriptions. For surely if they had wished to imitate the established form of an epitaph they could have done it more cleverly than this! The influence of inscriptions is without doubt to be seen in these verses, but epitaphs, whether real or epideictic, they are not.

Among these epigrams I have ventured to insert some fragments (?) of Theognis.¹¹⁰ Together with 196–205, they include almost every kind of epigram, — gnomic, satiric, epideictic, erotic, convivial, narrative. To exclude such poems from the list of early epigrams in order to make the history of Greek literature conform to a scheme which we have arbitrarily and, it may very well be, falsely mapped out, appears to me to be arguing in a circle.

The diction of fifth-century epigrams is largely epic. The following epic words are but a small part of those which occur :

¹⁰⁷ Reitzenstein (p. 96): "Sie (i. e. the epigrams of Asclepiades and his contemporaries) ergeben ein einheitliches Bild sobald wir sie als Lieder beim Gelage auffassen." He has, however, failed to show the necessity for arriving at "ein einheitliches Bild."

¹⁰⁸ p. 104 (l. c.).

¹⁰⁹ p. 19.

¹¹⁰ See p. 7.

κλινάμενοι (76)	πολύρρηγον (104)	πολυμήλη (136)
ἱππόβοτον (79)	παράκοιτις (93)	πυροφόροιο (108)
φθιμένον (79, 97, etc.)	εὐρυχόρου (102)	ἀγέρωχος (120)
μοῖρα κίχη θανάτου (92)	ἀταλασθίην (107)	ἀμφιρύτου (138)

Indeed, many of the poets might take as their motto the words of a late epigrammatist: *ὦν' εἴπωμεν καθ' Ὅμηρον*.¹¹¹ Cf. especially 145, where, within four verses, we read, *πολέμοιο δακρυόεντος, ὑπωρόφια, στονόεντα κατὰ κλόνον, ἐν δαὶ φωτῶν*.

A curious circumstance at this time is the dearth of epithets of the gods. Against the earlier

χρυσοστράεινος (23)	κρατερόφρων (39)	αργυρότοξος (58)
ποντομέδων (23)	χρυσάγαις (47)	ποικιλομήχανος (66)
πολήσχος (24)	ὀβριμοπάτρη (47)	φιλαίματος (74)
ἐγρεμάχα (26)	φιλοστέφανος (54)	

we can set only *ἀγέρωχος* (120), *Τριτογενής* (123), *καλλίκομος* (125), *αἰγίοχος* (142), *πολυνύμνος* (167). The deficiency is, however, more than balanced by the frequency with which we find epithets applied to *πατρίς*, *γαῖα*, and similar words. In the sixth century we find only *εὐρύχορος* (51). In the fifth century the following occur:

ἀμφιρύτος (138)	εὐρύχορος (102, 139, 143, 150, 157, 193)
ἀπόρρητος (138)	ἱππόβοτος (79)
εὐδοξος (134)	καλλίχορος (75, 138)
εὐυδρος (83)	πολύανδρος (139)
	πολύμηλος (136)
	πολύρρημος (104)
	πυροφόρος (108)

Some phrases recall the elegy. Cf.

81. *εὐκλείεσσι πατρίδα* ¹¹² *Τυγρ.* 12. 24, *ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείεσσι*
 94. *ρήμασι πειθόμενοι* = *Theog.* 1262 and 1239 b (cf. 194 and 380; *Solon* 4. 6 and 13. 12)
 103. *οὐδὲ τεθνῶσι θα- νόντες* *Theog.* 245, *οὐδὲ τὸν οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολείς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις | ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα*

A few passages directly recall the tragic poets. With the figure in 81, *ὥστ' ἐχθροὺς στενάχειμ πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας*, cf. *Aesch. Suppl.* 636, *Ἄρη τὸν ἀράτοις θερίζοντα βροτοὺς ἐν ἄλλοις*; *Pers.* 822, *ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ (ὑβρις) θέρος*. With 174, *μέγα δ' ἔστανε Ἀσίς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πληγείσ'*, cf. *Pers.* 548, *στίνει γαί' Ἀσίς*; 61, *οὗς πέρι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσιᾶτις στίνεται*.¹¹³ These few passages are the forerunners of many in the fourth century which show the profound influence of tragedy on the epigram.

¹¹¹ AP 6. 61. For Homeric forms see pp. 41 ff.

¹¹² Cf. 77 c, 175.

¹¹³ Cf. also p. 25 and notes.

Although the tone of the epigrams of the fifth century often differs from that of the earlier work, the difference between the poems of the fifth and of the fourth centuries is even more marked. In the fifth century, not only during the Persian wars, but even at the end of the century,¹¹⁴ patriotism and the good of the state were foremost in men's minds. But with the fourth century the individualistic tendency returned, and it appears in other fields besides the epigram. A striking testimony to the passing of the great period in Greek national life is the sudden drop in tone of the epigrams of the fourth century. The tendency to individualism was fostered by philosophy, particularly by the Peripatetic school, and flattered by rhetoric, but the individual was as yet a somewhat unsatisfactory and uninspiring subject, and the details with which the verses now begin to be loaded are for the most part dry facts expressed in curt or rambling style.¹¹⁵ A man's country, his age, his trade or profession,¹¹⁶ his whole genealogical tree,¹¹⁷ — these are not the touching and intimate details which give to the later epigram its charm, — details that move our sympathy for the dead as for a friend,¹¹⁸ and make us feel the gracious, kindly presence of the gods.¹¹⁹

While the earlier epigrams select for glorification valor in arms or success in the great games, now we find men praised also for learning and for excellence in the fine arts, — qualities which belong to men as individuals, not as members of a state. In the fifth century it was the glory of a noble death that appealed to the poet; in the fourth, as in the sixth, it was the sadness that affected him — again a change that corresponds with the shifting of interest from the state to the individual. But though this feeling is expressed in the sixth century, it is expressed with restraint, sometimes hardly more than hinted; in the fourth century it is revealed more freely. More and more men brooded over the idea of death and deplored the power of envious fate which could snatch men from the pleasures and opportunities of life. In almost

¹¹⁴ Cf. 81.¹¹⁵ Cf. 265 and 247.¹¹⁶ See Tables I, II.¹¹⁷ E. g. 265, 274, 275, 286.¹¹⁸ Cf. 245 with AP 7. 502:

Ἥριον εἰμὶ Βίτωνος, ὁδοίπορε· εἰ δὲ Τορώνην
 λείπων εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεαι Ἀμφίπολι,
 εἰπεῖν Νικαγόρα παιδῶν ὅτι τὸν μόνον αὐτῷ
 Στρυμονίης Ἐρίφων ὤλεσε πανδυσίῃ.

Nowhere do we find the touch, so light and yet so sure, of AP 7. 453

Δωδεκετὴ τὸν παῖδα πατὴρ ἀπέθηκε Φίλιππος
 ἐνθάδε, τὴν πολλὴν ἐλπίδα, Νικοτέλλην.

¹¹⁹ Cf. any of the dedicatory epigrams of this century with Mackail, § 2. 9-12.

every sepulchral inscription we find some such word as *ποθινός, πένθος, πῆμα*, and such expressions as *κοινοταφῆς θάλαμος* (230), *τὸν ἀνάγκης κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν θάλαμον* (220 a), *ᾧλεσεν ἡ φθονερά τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι τύχη* (249), *μοῖραν, τῆς μέτα πᾶσι βροτοῖς* (253) show the spirit of an age for which *Τύχη* was a dread and too powerful goddess.¹²⁰ To these detached phrases it may be worth while to add one complete poem :

228. Οὐ γάμος οὐδ' ὑμέναιος ἔμειν[έ] μ[ε] τλήμονι μοῖρα
ἀλλά με ἔλεν [κ]άμ[α]τος λυγρὸς ἀεικέλιον
πρὶν πολιο[κ]ρ[ο]σ[τ]άφοιο χρόνου γῆρας προσικέσθαι
κ[α]ὶ λ[ε]ίπω πένθος πᾶσιν ἐμοῖσι φίλοις·
Ὅσ[σ]α δ' [έ]χρην φύσεως θνητῆς παιδεία ἐφικέσθαι
π[ά]ντα μ' ἔχοντα εἶλεν μοῖρα Τύχης δυνάμει.

In only one epitaph of this century (245) is death a rest from toil — *Ἀτώτας | ἥς γαίας τηλοῦ σῶμ' ἀνέπαυσε πόνων*. Elsewhere it is the horror of dying that is uppermost — *τὸν Ἀΐδαν γὰρ οὐδὲ γῆρας οἶδε φιλεῖν*.¹²¹

Yet as it was with the sixth and fifth centuries, so we find it with the fourth. The general sentiment and point of view may change, but the same varieties of epigram are handed on from age to age. Now, as always, the short and simple epigram holds its own :

226. Μνῆμα δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀρετῆς τε
Σωσίνου ἔστησαν παῖδες ἀποφθιμένου.
266. Ἄντ' ἀγαθῶν ἔργω[ν] Ἀ[σκ]λαπιέ, τοῖσδ' ἀνέθηκ[ε]
αὐτοῦ καὶ παῖδων δῶρα τά[δ'] Ἀντίφίλος.¹²²

Others just as brief show greater elaboration :

238. Ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετ(ῆ)ς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολοῦσαν
Φαναγόραν κατέχει Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος.¹²³

The subject-matter is diluted far more than in the fifth century. Cf. 221, 235, 265, 273.

The influence of rhetoric is very apparent. It appears most often, as in the fifth century, in the use of antithesis ; but this figure, which lends the earlier poems grandeur and loftiness, now becomes too often frigid and lifeless. The phrases *σῶμα μὲν . . . ψυχὴ δέ, θνητὸς ἀθάνατον* have become catch phrases, appearing in even the shortest epigrams :

231. Ἡ[δ'] ἔθανεν προλιπούσα πόσιν καὶ μητ[έ]ρα σεμνήν
κ[α]ὶ κλέος ἀθάνατον σωφροσύνης [έ]λαβεν.

¹²⁰ Cf. 281 : ἀλλὰ τύχη κρείσσων ἐλπίδος [έ]εφάνη.

¹²¹ Soph. fr. 275.

¹²² Cf. 225, 227, 234, 251, 252, 268, 270, 271, 284.

¹²³ Cf. 230, 231, 239, 245.

240. Εὐρυμάχου ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερφιάλους διανοίας
αἰθὴρ ὑγρὸς ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύμβος ὄδε.

227 is an excellent example to show the change in taste since the fifth century; the verses are half rhetoric, half jest, wholly frigid:

Οὗτος ὃς ἐνθάδε κεῖται ἔχει μὲν τοῦνομα κριοῦ
φωτὸς [δὲ] ψυχὴν ἔσχε δικαιοτάτου.

The fact that the name is sometimes omitted altogether¹²⁴ from the epigram shows that the epigram has come by this time to be regarded as pure ornament. Unfortunately it is an ornament which does not always adorn, and at times differs from the most prosaic prose only by being metrical. So, for example, 276 a-f are verses of an unbroken mediocrity; it would be difficult to find a group of epigrams which displays less charm and eloquence.

That the utility of the epigram had fallen into the background is well shown by 222:

- a) Ψυχὴ μὲν προλιπούσα τὸ σὸν [Δημήτριε σῶμα
οἶχεται εἰς Ἑρέβος· σωφροσύνης δὲ χάρις
θάλλει ἀγῆρατος· τύμβω δὲ σέ θῆκε θανόντα
Ἑρξίς ἴσον στέρξας· οἷσι τέκτεσσιν ὁμοῦ.
- b) Ἀφθονον εὐλογίας πηγὴν Δημήτριε λείπεις
ἀσκήσας κόσμον σωφροσύνην τε τρόπων
ὦν σε χάριν στέρξας Ἑρξίς τεκτέσσιν ὁμοίως
μνημεῖον φιλίας τεύξε τάφῳ φθιμένῳ.

Here we have two complete epigrams expressing the same ideas in almost the same language.¹²⁵ The poet, or rather versifier, wished to exhibit his skill. If we find such exercises actually inscribed, it is no proof of spuriousness that two epigrams, which seem to be intended for the same tombstone, should be ascribed to Plato.¹²⁶

Numerous epigrams of this century show that the authors had failed to attain the grandeur of the earlier masters, and had not as yet acquired that polished elegance which is the charm of much of the Alexandrian work. But among many empty and affected verses a few stand out superior to their surroundings.

223 has something of the early dignity:

- a) Εἰ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν εἴη πόλις, οὐ ποτ' ἂν αὐτῆς
ἐχθροὶ στήσαιεν Ζηνὶ τρόπαιον ἔδος.
- b) Κ[τ]ώμενον εὐκλεία[ν] δ[ιο]ρί καὶ χερὶ τόνδε πρὸς ἀ[ν]δρός
ἐχθροῦ Ἀρι[σ]τ[ρ]όκ[ρι]τον ὤλεσε θούρος Ἄρης

¹²⁴ See Table I.

¹²⁵ Cf. 220, 241.

¹²⁶ See p. 34.

217 has a grave beauty of its own, though it cannot rival Sim. 92, which it recalls.

217. Ὁ Χρόνε, παντοίων θνητοῖς πανεπίσκοπε δαίμων,
ἄγγελος ἡμετέρων πᾶσι γενοῦ παθέων.
ὥς ἱερὰν σφίξειν πειρώμενοι Ἑλλάδα χώραν
Βοιωτῶν κλεινοῖς θνήσκομεν ἐν δαπέδοις.¹²⁷

Another epigram, which, like that just quoted, shows how these later poets adapted to their own times the earlier sentiments, is 237 :

Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἔστερξαν Ἄρης, ἐφίλησε δ' ἔπαινος
καὶ γῆρα νεότης οὐ παρέδωχ' ὑβρίσαι.
ὦγ καὶ Γ(λ)αυκιάδας δῆους ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἔργω[ν
ῆλθ' ἐπ[ὶ] πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον.¹²⁸

Splendid severity had passed away, and in its place were coming charm and grace.

Although the name of the dead is occasionally omitted from the epigram,¹²⁹ most epigrams give the reader all necessary details. The name of the dedicator and the verb of dedicating are always present in dedicatory inscriptions; in epitaphs, while a synonym for "dead" or "tomb" may be lacking (as in the fifth century), the fact that the verses are epitaphs is usually indicated by expressions like *ἐνθάδε, κεῖται*, etc. In a very few cases there is no indication that the verses were inscribed, — a peculiarity which appears now in sepulchral inscriptions for the first time; e. g.

239. Οὐ σπάνις ἐστὶ γυναῖκὶ ἐσθλὴν καὶ σὺφρονα φῦναι
τὴν αὐτὴν δοκίμως, τοῦδε τύχεγ Γλυκίρα.¹³⁰

In this century we find inscriptions written neither in elegiacs nor hexameters, but in irregular combinations of hexameters and pentameters. These verses bear witness to the growing passion for novelty, but otherwise they add nothing to our knowledge of the epigram, and are interesting chiefly because the commonplace authors of some of them have evidently attempted to imitate earlier and better poems.¹³¹

The epigrams preserved in MSS. differ little from the inscriptions, though among them there are a greater number that are excellent. Almost all show the signs of the times. The epitaph in honor of Plato shows a common formula slightly modified :

¹²⁷ Cf. 224, 292.

¹²⁸ Cf. 20.

¹²⁹ See p. 32.

¹³⁰ Cf. 230.

¹³¹ See pp. 36 ff. Cf. K. F. Smith, *Some Irregular Forms of the Elegiac Distich*, AJP 22, pp. 165 ff.

256. Σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κατέχει τόδε γαῖα Πλάτωνος
ψυχὴ δ' ἰσχυρίαν τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων.

The writers are usually self-conscious, fond of rhetoric, given to praising learning as readily as valor. Whereas in early days one verse or a few words sufficed for the name of the artist, now an entire epigram is devoted to his name and his boasts; e. g. 312.¹³² 254, although different from the rest in contents, is not alien to the taste of this century, whether we regard it as a real or an imitated epitaph:

Τοῦνομα θῆτα ῥῶ ἄλφα σὰν δ' μὴ ἄλφα χι οὐ σάν.
πατρὶς Χαλκηδών· ἡ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη.

By far the most original epigram in our collection is 313:

Μνῆμα μὲν 'Ελλάς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου, ὅστιά δ' ἴσχει
γῆ Μακεδών, ἡ γὰρ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.
πατρὶς δ' 'Ελλάδος 'Ελλάς, 'Αθῆναι. πλείστα δὲ μούσαις
τέρψας, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

The expression 'Ελλάδος 'Ελλάς seems to some critics too rhetorical for the fourth century. That is a question that can hardly be answered with any degree of certainty, but to me it seems not inconsistent with the style of Euripides himself. At any rate, the poem makes use of formulas which are characteristic of this period, and I am unwilling to reject it without further arguments against its genuineness.

There remain the epigrams attributed to Plato, with regard to which I have been and still am doubtful. Fava¹³³ denies that any of them belong to Plato or to the fourth century at all. Bergk accepts only 322. It seems to me, however, that we have no right to reject them all because some are surely or very probably late. In 318 and 319 we find early formulas combined with the freedom of expression which belongs to the fourth century. We cannot reject them on the ground that they are written for one and the same stone, since we know that two such epigrams might actually be inscribed side by side.¹³⁴ As for the rest that I have included, they may, of course, be late.¹³⁵ Still it is at least probable that in the fourth century there were prototypes of the epigrams so frequent in the third,¹³⁶ and every one, I suppose, would be willing to date these epigrams assigned to Plato as early as

¹³² Cf. 302, 310, 311, 312 a.

¹³³ Gli Epigrammi di Platone. Cf. Reitzenstein, Ep. u. Sk., pp. 181 ff.

¹³⁴ See p. 32. It is impossible to tell whether they are real or epideictic epitaphs.

¹³⁵ Cf. pp. 11 ff.

¹³⁶ Cf. 314 with AP 5. 171; 320 with AP 5. 82, 83.

the third century. The spirit of 315 and 316, indeed, is not unlike that of 213–215, verses of Theognis. 321 and 322 are among the most famous epigrams which have come down to us, and would not shame the philosopher himself :

321. Ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν Ἐφῶς,
νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἑσπερος ἐν φθιμένοισι.

322. Αἱ χάριτες τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται
ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

In the fourth century we find the following epithets of the gods :

ἀκερσεκόμας (297)	πανεπίσκοπος (217)	τριτογένεια (271)
μεγαλόφρων (224)	τριτογενής (261)	ὑψιμέδων (298)
πολιοῦχος (268)		

The following epithets are applied to a country or city :

ἀγχίαλος (308)	εὐρύχορος (289)	κλειότατος (221)
ἀνίκητος (259)	ἡγάθεος (234)	κλυτός (318)
αὐτόνομος (304)	ιερός (274, 280, 304)	μεγάλαυχος (259)
εὐολβος (269)	κλεινός (217, 243, 259)	περίκλυτος (265)

As to the diction of the fourth century, epic words are gradually disappearing, displaced largely by the language of tragedy. This is clear from the following parallel passages.¹³⁷ I have tried to include only such words or phrases as are found solely or chiefly or first in the tragic poets.

237. Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἔσπερξεν Ἄρης. Aesch. fr. 100. ἀλλ' Ἄρης φιλεῖ αἰεὶ τὰ
λῶστα πάντα τὰνθρώπων στρατοῦ.
Soph. fr. 657. τοὺς εὐγενεῖς γὰρ κἀγα-
θοὺς, ὦ παῖ, φιλεῖ Ἄρης ἐναίρειν.
Phil. 436, 7. πόλεμος οὐδέν' ἄνδρ'
ἐκὼν αἰρεῖ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
χρηστοὺς αἰεῖ.
289. ὑψηλὸν πύργων ἀμφέθετο στέ- Soph. Ant. 122. στεφάνωμα πύργων.
φανον.
217. Χρόνε παντοίων . . . πανεπί- O. T. 1213. ὁ πάνθ' ὄρων χρόνος.
σκοπε δαίμων. fr. 280. ὁ πάνθ' ὄρων καὶ πάντ'
ἀκούων πάντ' ἀναπτύσσει Χρόνος.
- 220 a. κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον. Soph. Aj. 1192. τὸν πολύκοινον Αἶδαν.
Eur. Suppl. 797. κοινὸν ἐς Αἶδην κα-
ταβᾶσα.

¹³⁷ The list does not pretend to be exhaustive.

230. κοινοταφῆς θάλαμος. Soph. Ant. 804. παγκοίταν θάλαμον (cf. 810).
 237. πάνδεκτον θάλαμον.¹³⁸ Eur. Suppl. 1022. Φερσεφονείας θαλάμους.
 281. τέρμα βίου. Aesch. fr. 362. 2. εἰ μὴ τέρμα συντρέχοι βίου (cf. Prom. 259).
 Soph. O. T. 1530. πρὶν ἂν τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ.
 Eur. Alc. 643. ἐπὶ τέρμ' ἦκων βίου.
 220 b. λείλοιπας πένθος.¹³⁹ Soph. O. C. 1708. οὐδὲ πένθος ἔλιπ' ἄκλαυτον.

The following rare words are also found in tragedy :

ἐκγενέται (274) in Eur. Andr. 128 ; Bacch. 1155.

νυμφίδιος (244) in Eur. Alc. 885 ; Hipp. 1140.

ἀβροδίαυτος (311) in Aesch. Pers. 41.

ποθεινός, a word very frequent in epigrams of the fourth century, is a favorite of the tragic poets, especially Euripides.¹⁴⁰

The following words are ἀπαξ λελεγμένα :

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| ἀγρωσσα (112) | δεκατόσπορος (309) | δοστρειογραφῆς (301) |
| αἰνοζίης (74) | ἰθυμάχος (154) ? | πάνδεκτος (237) |
| ἀχνύεις (25) | κοινοταφῆς (230) | ποικιλομήχανος (66) |
| βαθυχαιτήεις (108) | μενέγῃς (104) | χρυσελεφαντήλεκτρος (301) |

Finally I add a list of parallel passages from the early epigrams to show how well known these verses must have been, whether on stone or in MSS., and how freely they were imitated.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. οἰκτίρας ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν παρίτω. | 90. κα]τοικτίρας ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν παρίτω. |
| 83. εὐνδρόν ποκ' ἐναίομες ἄστυ Φορῖνον. | 98. τοί ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἑλικῶνος. |
| 100. ἐλευθερίης ἀμφίθετο στέφανον. | 289. πύργων ἀμφίθετο στέφανον (cf. 106). |
| 104. ἀμφιέσαντο κόνιν. | 250. ἀμφιέσαντο κόνιν. |
| 79. ἴκετ' ἄχος φθιμένον. | 196. Πιερίην γῆν ἐπιεσσαμένην. |
| 77b. Ποσειδάϊας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔδραμεν. | 86. ἔξει ἄχος φθιμένον. |
| 106. εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον, ἡμῖν . . . τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη. | 115. Σελινούντος ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔθανον.
Allen XXVI (S IV). εἰ τὸ καλῶς ἐστι θανεῖν κάμοι τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη.
Cf. K 65 (SIV-II), εἰ τὰ θεῶν τι μᾶν . . . δόξα ἀρετῇ τε βροτοῖς. |

¹³⁸ See Table III.

¹⁴⁰ E. g. Hel. 623, I. T. 515, Phoen. 1737.

¹³⁹ Cf. Table III.

- 220 a. ἡŕρηται δὲ ἄφθονος εὐλογία. 222 b. ἄφθονον εὐλογίας πηγὴν.
 106. ἀγῆραντ' ἡρώμενοι εὐλογία. 276 f. εὐδόξ' ἡρώμενοι εὐλογία.
 81. ἀθάνατον μῆμα ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν. 109. κάλλιστον δ' ἀρετῆς μῆμα' ἔλιπον
 φθίμενοι.
 258. μῆμα . . . ἀθάνατον θνητοῖς. 273. ἀθάνατον θνητῷ πατρὶ γέρας τελέ-
 σας.
 230. παῖδας παίδων ἐπιδοῦσαν. K 44 (S IV/III). παῖδας παίδων ἐπι-
 δοῦσα (cf. H 76).
 84. Χαίρετε οἱ παριόντες ἐγὼ . . . K 23 (S IV). Χαίρετε δ' οἱ παριόντες,
 κείμει τῇδε θανὼν πατρίδα γῆν
 προλιπών. ἐ[γ]ὼ δὲ λιπὼν πατρίδα ἐνθάδε
 κείμει.
 170. Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι REG 1904, 2. Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες,
 Μαραθῶνι. Ἀθηναίων πολεμητάς.
 174. Ἐξ οὗ γ' Εὐρώπην. K 768 (S V/IV). Ἐξ οὗ γ' Εὐρώπην.
 K 844 (S IV). Ἐξ οὗ Κέκροπα λαός.
 83. Ὡ ξεῖν' . . . 94. Ὡ ξεῖν' . . .
 235. Ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ 238. Ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα
 τέρμα μολόντα. μολοῦσαν.
 59. Εἴχεο Τιμῶνακτι . . . 158. Εἴχεο τοι δώροισι . . .
 149. ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μῆδων. 156. ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μῆδων.
 217. Βοιωτῶν κλεινοῖς θνήσκομεν ἐν 259. κείται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θετταλικοῖς
 δαπέδοις. πεδίοις.
 243. ἔθανον κλειναῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις. K 90 (S IV). κε[ῖ]μα[ι] κλειναῖς ἐν Ἀθή-
 ναις.
 219. ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς. 323. κιθάρας δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον.
 177. παλαισμοσύνας δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον. K 52 (S IV). οὐ σπάνις ἀνδρὶ τυχεῖν.
 239. οὐ σπάνις ἐστὶ τυχεῖν. 302. ᾧ φθόνοσ οὐχ ἔπεται.
 255. καὶ φθόνον οὐ φέρεται.

Cf. 103 and 104 (see p. 26); 81 and 109; and see Table III.

The facts, then, which are clear from this investigation are briefly as follows:

The epigrams of the sixth century are characterized by a severe simplicity, which, however, cannot quite conceal the personal tone. Simple devices are usually employed to fill out the metre, though occasionally we find traces of more elaborate poetic treatment. In this century nothing except the name of the artist or stonecutter is inscribed on the stone *extra metrum*, and the verses themselves, with the exception of those meant for honorary statues, must indicate that they are inscriptions. We find no purely imitative inscriptions, but epigrams of satire or lament have already made their appearance. The chief influence from other literature is from the epic.

The fifth century is the period when splendor of expression is combined with simplicity and nobility of thought. Now the individual sinks out of prominence for a time. The name of the dead or of the dedicator may be repeated and certain other information added *extra metrum*, but the verses, still with the exception of epigrams for honorary statues, must indicate that they were inscribed. Dedicatory inscriptions often omit the name of the divinity. We find for the first time epideictic epitaphs and dedications; satiric, convivial, gnostic, and love epigrams are developing rapidly. The chief literary influence is still that of the epic, though we begin to see the effect of tragedy and rhetoric.

The work of the fourth century is marked by individualism and by a drop in tone. The great majority of the epigrams are commonplace, loaded with details, and utterly without charm. In the best work grace has taken the place of splendor, and we have an intimation of what the later epigram is to be. For the first time now art and letters are mentioned as titles to fame. The purely ornamental character of the inscribed epigram is shown by the fact that the name is sometimes omitted in the verses, which often give no indication that they were inscribed. In this century epic influence is dying out, and it is replaced by the influence of tragedy and rhetoric.

The frequent repetition of formulas and the imitation of one epigram by another show that the epigram was early considered a distinct branch of literature. Finally we have found examples of practically every variety of epigram in the early period. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the epideictic epigram of the third century sprang into being full-grown, as it were, nor that it developed from a perverted use of inscriptions.

The main part of this study ends here, but it may not be out of place to add a few remarks on the metre and the dialect of the epigrams.

The metre of inscriptions is discussed fully by Allen, and there is little to add to his investigations, since the epigrams preserved in MSS. observe the same principles as the inscriptions. I add, however, a few instances of the occurrence of the more unusual phenomena.¹⁴¹

Caesura in the third foot of the hexameter is lacking in 183. 1 (MS.) and 276 a. 1.

Elision in the third foot of the hexameter after the *caesura* occurs in 83. 1 and 138. 3 (Allen, p. 50, cites two examples, K 43 (S IV/III) and Allen XCVII 20 (S III)).

¹⁴¹ See also J. Mesk, *Satz u. Vers in eleg. Distichon d. Griechen*, Brünn, 1900; A. Langen, *De Disticho Graecorum Elegiaco*, Breslau, 1868.

Spondaic lines are 129. 1, 171. 3 (MS.), 210. 3 (MS.), 275. 1, 301. 1 (MS.).

Hiatus between the cola of the pentameter occurs in 103. 2 (MS.), 127. 2 (Allen, p. 63, cites but one example, Allen XXVI (S IV)).

Syllaba anceps ends the first colon of the pentameter in 48. 2, 67. 4 (MS.), 127. 2, 190. 2 (MS.) (Allen, p. 63, cites but one example, K 24 = 233 b. 2).

A *monosyllable* ends the pentameter in 67. 4 (MS.), 160 a. 2 (MS.), 267. 2, 270. 2 (Allen, p. 65, cites but one example, K 519).

I append also a table showing the structure of the distich.

	Hexameter and Pentameter distinct.		Pentameter usually dependent on Hexameter, but expressing complete Thought.		Pause in Hexameter but none between Verses.		Pause in Pentameter but none between Verses.		No Pause.	
	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.
Seventh and sixth centuries	6	4	12	4	1	8	3	2	10	20 = 70
Fifth century	7	18	13	28	4	15	2	6	18	96 = 207
Fourth century	24	9	24	10	9	9	4	3	56	33 = 181

If we reduce the above figures to per cents, we get the following table :

	Per cent of Distichs where there is a Pause between Hexameter and Pentameter.	
	Insc.	Ms.
Seventh and sixth centuries	56½	21½
Fifth century	45½	28½
Fourth century	41½	29½

It is evident that the tendency to separate the verses is much greater in the inscriptions than in the poems preserved in MSS. only. This tendency, however, grows steadily less in the case of inscriptions, while it increases slightly in the case of the epigrams preserved only in MSS.

The following table shows the structure of epigrams of two distichs :

	Pause in Sense between Distichs.		Pause in v. 2, not between Distichs.		Pause in v. 3, not between Distichs.		Pause after v. 3, not between Distichs.		No Pause.	
	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.	Insc.	Ms.
Seventh and sixth centuries		6			1		2			1 = 10
Fifth century	3	18	1		2	3	1	1	5	18 = 52
Fourth century	11	13			4	2	2	1	11	7 = 51

The evidence here is somewhat scanty, but it is surprising that there

is a greater tendency to separate the distichs sharply in the epigrams preserved in MSS. than in the inscriptions.

The epigrams composed of more than two distichs are so few that it is not worth while to examine their structure.

The dialect of the epigram has long been a subject for discussion, and a somewhat unsatisfactory subject, since the only sure testimony is that of the inscriptions, and the material, except possibly for the Attic epigram, is extremely meagre. Among the various views which scholars have held, Fick and v. Mess represent the two extremes. Fick¹⁴² claims that we find in inscriptions only such forms as belong to the language of the author or of those for whom the verses were composed. Kirchhoff¹⁴³ agrees with him so far as the Attic epigram is concerned. v. Mess,¹⁴⁴ on the other hand, holds that forms drawn from various dialects may, for different reasons, appear in the same epigram. Other scholars have taken various positions between these two extremes. Wilamowitz¹⁴⁵ thinks that the dialect is either epic or "die internationale Form des elegisch-epischen Dialectes." Wagner¹⁴⁶ admits the appearance of words of various dialects in one epigram, and thinks it is explained by the adoption of words or phrases taken bodily from different styles of literature and by the fact that the author and those for whom the poem was composed spoke different dialects. He holds also that when an author wished to write in a dialect not his own, he was satisfied to adopt only the more striking features of that dialect. Reitzenstein¹⁴⁷ contents himself with the following general statement: "Der Dialect ist im wesentlichen epichorisch; wenn der Tote im Ausland begraben ist, der seiner Heimat. Doch hat die Einwirkung des Epos oder der Lyrik ab und an auch die dialektische Form beeinflusst."¹⁴⁸

Let us first consider the epigrams found in Attica. The following forms are not Attic:

SEVENTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

σαοφροσύνης (3)	πατρώης (5)	Ἀἶδαο (9)
αἰδοῖν (5)	ἀπο]φθιμένοιο (7)	κούρη (11, 28, 31)

¹⁴² Die Homerische Ilias, Goettingen, 1836, pp. v ff.

¹⁴³ Hermes 5, pp. 56 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Quaestiones de Epigrammate Attico et Tragoedia Antiquiore Dialecticae, Bonn, 1898.

¹⁴⁵ Hermes 20, pp. 69 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Quaestiones de Epigrammatis Graecis, Leipzig, 1883.

¹⁴⁷ Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Epigramm, p. 78.

¹⁴⁸ See also H. W. Smyth, Ionic, p. 61.

πολιήοχε (24)
 Ἀθήνη (29)
 φρασίν (2)

ἀνορέαν (12)
 Ἀθ.ναίαι (22)
 ἡδέ (3)

Ἀθάνα (24)
 φρασμοσύνη (39)
 ἐγρεμάχαι (26)

In this list there are no Ionic words which are not also epic. That Ἀθήνη is epic, not Ionic, has been shown by v. Mess,¹⁴⁹ since it appears only in epic poets, and in one inscription from Naxos,¹⁵⁰ probably in hexameter. Except in two words, which will be discussed a little later, a *purum* is not represented by η. All the epic forms are adopted bodily from the epic, and in every case where they appear the Attic form would be metrically impossible in that position in the verse. These same words are found in the Attic form in other epigrams. Cf. κούρη with κόρη (23), ἀποφθιμένοι with φθιμένοι (79).

That the Doric forms are taken from lyric poets and show their influence on the vocabulary of poetry is generally admitted.¹⁵¹ They are always side by side with Attic forms, so that they cannot be regarded as evidence of the native region of the author.¹⁵² In order to explain the form φρασίν, a form found elsewhere only in Pindar, v. Mess¹⁵³ conjectures that the phrase φρασίν ἄλλα μενοιῶν was common in Boeotia and thus crept into the inscriptions of the adjoining country. It is, however, unlikely that the contracted form μενοιῶν was common in Boeotia in the sixth century,¹⁵⁴ and it is more probable that we have in φρασίν another evidence of the influence of lyric poetry, unless, indeed, it may be also Attic.

FIFTH CENTURY.

ἀριστῆες (75)
 κοῦροι (75)
 ξείν' (83)
 Ἀθηναίη (117)
 Ἄρεος (117)
 φιλοξενίης (117)

εἰργάσσατο (123)
 Κυδωνήτας (123)
 πόλῃας (126)
 Πυθαγόρην (79)
 Σαλυβρίαν (79)
 βαρνάμενοι (81)

ἵπποσύνη (75)
 Ἑλλάνων (75)
 ποκ' (83)
 ἐναίωμας (83)

We find here Ionic, or rather epic, forms as in the preceding centuries. Again two words show -η. If such forms were used by natives of Attica, the statement made above, that epic forms were used only when the Attic form was metrically impossible, is incorrect. But if

¹⁴⁹ p. 12.

¹⁵⁰ Collitz u. Bechtel, Sammlung d. gr. Dialekt-Inschriften, 5418.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Wilamowitz and Wagner (ll. cc.), and Wilhelm, JOAI 2. 244.

¹⁵² Even κόρα appears, JHS 13. 126, n. 18; and CIA IV, 373 ¹⁵³, p. 91.

¹⁵³ p. 21.

¹⁵⁴ See Ahrens, De Graecae Linguae Dialectis, Goettingen, 1839, I, 201.

we examine the epigrams in which these words appear (5, 117), we see that both were written in honor of foreigners. Therefore the forms in -ιη may be really Ionic and not epic. Other inscriptions which are certainly in honor of foreigners are 79 and 83. 79 is, indeed, composed in the Attic dialect because it was the Athenian state which set up the stone, and the official language would naturally be used; but 83 is in the dialect of the Corinthians who lay beneath the stone. From these facts we may reasonably conclude that 5 and 17 were also composed in the dialects of the dead, and we may still hold that Attic forms are replaced by epic only for metrical convenience. This position is strengthened if we examine the following words, ἡλικίας (12), νεαρὰν (1), ξενίαν (16), ἄγας (23), βίαι (76), σφετέραν (81), γενεᾶς (80), all of which have retained the Attic form, although at least two of them appear in the epic as frequently as πατρώϊς and αἰδοίην.

Ἀθηναίη (117) is explained by v. Mess in the same way as Ἀθήνη (see above), but here the case is somewhat different, since the Attic form Ἀθηναία would have suited the metre equally well. Therefore, while Ἀθήνη might appear in an inscription in Attic, Ἀθηναίη, in my opinion, could not.¹⁵⁵

Since only words which appear in epic or lyric poetry are found in the epigrams in epic or Doric forms, it seems fair to conclude that words not found in epic or lyric poetry could not be given epic or Doric forms merely to add a poetic tone to the verses. Hence πράγμ' (1) is the only possible form for that epigram, and in the much-discussed ep. 171,¹⁵⁶ πράγμασι must have been the form which appeared on the stone, if, as we now suppose, πῶγμα was a word not used in the epic.

There remains a difficulty which no one has as yet been able to solve, — the form Πυθαγόρην (79). The inscription, as was to be expected, is almost wholly Attic, even to the genitive Πυθαγόρου which precedes the verses. The Doric form Σαλυβρίαν is easily explained, since the name of a Doric town would be likely to remain unchanged in any surroundings. Of the form Πυθαγόρην v. Mess writes as follows:¹⁵⁷ "Formam vero Πυθαγόρην in carmine nostro non ex Iade vulgari sed ex poetica moris epici imitatione ortam esse apparet, praesertim cum in titulo suprascripto eiusdem nominis forma Attica, Πυθαγόρου, legitur. Forma Πυθαγόρης fortasse inde explicatur, quod eis fere temporibus

¹⁵⁵ v. Mess cites Hoffmann 253 as an example of an Attic epigram containing Ἀθηναίη. But this epigram may also have been written by or for a foreigner. The name Συμύκηθη (which is partly conjectural) is not found in Attica alone, and it is not certain that the form εἰαυτῆς could not be employed by an Ionic poet.

¹⁵⁶ See Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 20, pp. 69 ff.

¹⁵⁷ p. 14.

Pythagorae philosophi nomen in poesi dactylica et philosophorum et poetarum saepissime laudabatur." His first suggested explanation cannot be correct if we have been right in concluding that epic forms were borrowed or transferred, not imitated; but his second suggestion may be the answer to the question. The genitive Πυθαγόρου may be due to the fact that it was not in the original copy given to the stonecutter, who supplied it in his native Attic.

Editors have wished to change Κυδωνήτας (123) to Κυδωνήτης or Κυδωνιάτας. v. Mess keeps the form as inscribed on the stone and calls it Dorico-epic.¹⁵⁸ I cannot think that the stonecutter purposely "epicized" his own name, especially as he kept the ending -τας. It is more probable that η is a mistake for α.

In the fifth century, too, we find Doric forms. Ἑλλάνων (75) is not preserved on the stone, but appears in the MS., which has, however, the incorrect form ἑπποσύνη. On βαρνάμενοι see v. Mess,¹⁵⁹ who cites two early inscriptions.¹⁶⁰

FOURTH CENTURY.

γαῖα (218, 220 b, 234, 245)

ἀρετᾶς (242)

ἑών (229)

Ἀθάναι (246)

Ἀχιλλῆος (245)

(cf. Ἀθήνη . . . v. 1.)

Πυλαμένεος (245)

It is noticeable how very few non-Attic forms appear. In this century Attic forms were not only crowding out epic and Doric-lyric forms in Attica itself, but they were displacing the epichoric forms in other regions. In 218, an epitaph of Coreyreans, and 225, the epitaph of a Cytherean woman, the Attic dialect may indeed be explained by the fact that the former was inscribed by the Athenian state and the latter by the master of the dead woman, himself probably an Athenian; her name, however, which appears *extra metrum*, retains the Doric form, Μαλίχα. The monument of a Corinthian woman for which 231 was written may likewise have been set up by Athenians, but the widespread use of the Attic dialect at this period makes it impossible to speak with certainty.

In regard to the dialect of epigrams of the sixth and fifth centuries from other regions than Attica we have very little information. Not many inscriptions come from any one place, and in the case of numerous dedications found at Olympia and Delphi we have no means of determining the nationality of the authors or dedicators. So far as we can tell, epigrams seem to be in the epichoric dialect; cf. forms

¹⁵⁸ p. 15.¹⁵⁹ p. 20.¹⁶⁰ Hoffmann, 47, 51.

like *Ἔιν* (42), *Ἰάναξ* (43), *ἐπιίδες* (85), *ἀρισστεύων* (88), *τήνου*, *ὄνυμα* (128), *Φοι ἡεσλός* (136). On the other hand, epigrams like 88 and 92 refute Fick's statement and seem to support Wagner's views.¹⁶¹ 84 and 86, epitaphs of foreigners, are written in the dialect of the dead, not of the people among whom they died.

Epic forms are exceedingly rare. We find only *ξείνοισι* (88), *ὁδοῖο* (89), *κίχηι* (92), *εἵνεκα* (132). In 42 the form *ΔήΦωι*, in a Doric setting, is still a stumbling-block to commentators.

In the fourth century, as stated above, the Attic dialect spread rapidly over other districts. In Doric countries we still find the Doric *a* as a rule: *δόμαν* (248), *Μ[ατρ]όπολις*, *γά*, *στάσαν* (265), *Ἀ[σκ]λαπίε* (266); in Ionic regions the Ionic *η*: *ἡλικίην* (252), *Ἀθηναίηι* (268), but these are almost the only distinguishing marks of dialect which we find, and even these are not invariable. In 267 we read *νεώ*, *Ἰλαος*, *γενεήν*; in 269 *κῆρυξ*, *πιανοῖς*; in 274 *νύμφα*, *λαός*, *κούρος*, *μνήμ'*; in 247 (from Euboea) *θεραπείαι*; in 268 (from Erythrae) *πολιούχων*. Epic forms have almost entirely disappeared. I am unable to see why Preger¹⁶² says that in the fourth century the epic-Ionic dialect began to prevail. Surely for "epic-Ionic" we should read "Attic."

The only epic forms which are found to any extent in this century are words ending in *-οιο*. This termination persists because of its metrical convenience, as we see from the fact that such forms tend to occupy fixed places in the verse. The same is true of the endings *-οισι* and *-αισι*.

End- ing.	Total No. of Occurrences.	Number of Occurrences in								
		Hexameter.					Pentameter.			
		1st & 2d ft.	2d and 3d ft.	3d ft.	5th ft.	6th ft.	2d ft.	2d & 3d ft.	4th ft.	5th ft.
-οιο	17			8	4	4				1
-οισι	31 (-οις, 78)	1	1	8	7	6	1	3	1	3
-αισι -ησι	5 (-αις, 26)				4	1				
Total		1	1	16	15	11	1	3	1	4

¹⁶¹ See p. 40.

¹⁶² p. xviii.

The above table covers the occurrence of these terminations in all epigrams of the early period, whether inscribed or not.

It is evident from this table that the favorite positions for such terminations are just before the feminine caesura of the third foot and in the fifth and sixth feet of the hexameter. The number of cases where they stand in other positions is so small that we can hardly say that one position is preferred over another.

The chief result of the preceding investigation has been to show how little we can really state positively from the material at our command. We know enough about Attic epigrams to be able to say with comparative certainty when we may expect to find Ionic or epic forms, but in all other cases our knowledge is so limited that we can draw no conclusions which would enable us to make corrections or even to justify MS. tradition in those epigrams for which we have not the testimony of the stones. Reitzenstein's general statement¹⁶³ is the best we can do till we have more material to examine.

APPENDIX

The following epigrams are grouped by centuries: in each century the sepulchral epigrams stand first, followed by the dedicatory and epideictic. Within each group the inscriptions precede the epigrams which are preserved in MSS. only. The inscriptions are arranged according to their provenience to facilitate comparison of dialect. It is quite possible that some epigrams written at the beginning of a century have been wrongly grouped among those belonging to the end of the preceding century and *vice versa*,¹⁶⁴ but I trust that no such mistake has been made in any case where it would affect the historical conclusions which have been drawn. I have made no attempt to give all the sources for an epigram nor to indicate all the collections where it may be found, but when an epigram is included in the collections of Kaibel, Preger, Hoffmann, or Bergk, and when it is cited by an author earlier than 300 B. C., I have so indicated. In the case of inscriptions the first reference is to a facsimile and the restoration adopted is by the editor of the facsimile unless it is otherwise stated. Where the reputed author of an epigram is mentioned it is merely for purposes of citation and is not meant as an assertion of the correctness of the attribution.

¹⁶³ See p. 40.

¹⁶⁴ This is especially likely in the case of Simonides. Doubtless some of the epigrams attributed to him belong to the sixth century, but there is no way of distinguishing them from those of the fifth century, and it has seemed simpler to group them all together except such as are obviously later than the fifth century.

An asterisk* indicates that an epigram is preserved both on stone and in MSS.

Square brackets [—] indicate that the epigram is usually cited as an elegy or part of an elegy.

EPIGRAMS

Seventh and Sixth Centuries

1. CIA I, 463 (= K 1 = H 2).
2. CIA IV, 477^a, p. 112 (= K(RM) 2 a = H 13).
3. CIA IV, 477^b, p. 48 (= K 2 = H 9).
4. CIA I, 482 (= K 17 = H 255).
5. CIA I, 477 (= K 13 = H 11).
6. CIA I, 479 (= K 15 = H 27).
7. CIA IV, 477^c, p. 48 (= K, add. 1 a = H 22).
8. CIA I, 473 (= K 10 = H 23).
9. CIA I, 481 (= K 16 = H 28).
10. CIA IV, 477^d, p. 188 (= H 1).¹⁶⁵
11. CIA I, 469 (= K 6 = H 7).
12. CIA I, 471 (= K 8 = H 6).¹⁶⁵
13. CIA I, 487 (= K 18 = H 19).
14. AEMO 11 (1887), p. 187 (= H 53). Paros.
15. IGA 495 (= K(RM) 229 a = H 61). Erythrae.
16. IGS 3501 (= H 57). Provenience unknown. Restored by Dittenberger.
17. Hermes 20 (1885), p. 158 (= H 54). Thessaly.
18. AP 7. 304 (= Pr 25 = PLG 2, p. 24).
19. AP 7. 489 (= Sappho 119).
20. AP 7. 160 (= Anac. 101).¹⁶⁶
21. Pr 49 (= PLG 2, p. 239).
22. CIA IV, 373¹⁰⁵, p. 90 (= H 214).
23. CIA IV, 373^{54.68.17.9}, p. 179 (= H 256). Restored by Lolling.
24. CIA IV, 373¹⁰⁶, p. 91 (= H 242).
- *25. CIA IV, 334 a, p. 78 (= K 748 = H 249 = Pr 72 : Hdt. 5.77).
26. CIA IV, 373²¹⁶, p. 102 (= H 226).
27. CIA IV, 373 x, p. 128 (= H 230).
28. CIA IV, 373^{28.36.211}, p. 180 (= H 221).

¹⁶⁵ See n. 33.

¹⁶⁶ Reitzenstein (Ep. u. Sk., p. 135, n. 1) thinks v. 2 imitates Aeschylus, fr. 100. There is, however, nothing in the epigram inconsistent with an early date, and 237 shows how a later poet imitated the fragment of Aeschylus.

On the epigrams of Anacreon, see L. Weber, *Anacreontea*, Goettingen, 1895.

29. CIA IV, 373¹⁰⁷, p. 91 (= H 243).
30. CIA IV, 373⁸⁵, p. 87 (= H 218). Restored by Allen, VIII.
31. CIA IV, 373^{25.58.29.53}, p. 163 (= H 211) Restored by Kirchhoff.
32. CIA IV, 373²⁰², p. 100 (= H 224).
33. CIA IV, 373²¹⁸, p. 102 (= H 246).
34. CIA IV, 373¹⁸⁸, p. 98 (= H 222). Restored by Kirchhoff.
35. CIA IV, 373²⁰¹, p. 100 (= H 223). Restored by Kirchhoff and Hoffmann.
36. CIA IV, 373²⁰⁸, p. 183 (= H 220).
- *37. CIA IV, 373^e, p. 41 (= K 743 a, pref. = H 238 = Pr 71 : Thuc. 6. 54).
38. CIA IV, 422¹³, p. 185 (= H 253).
39. CIA IV, 373⁹⁹, p. 89 (= H 251).
40. CIA IV, 373⁷⁹, p. 86 (= H 232).
41. IGA 62^a, p. 174 (= H 307). Sellasia.
42. IIS 652 (= H 305). Metapontum.
- *43. Olymp. 252 (= K 743 = H 311 = Pr 57 : Paus. 5. 24. 3).
44. Olymp. 157 (= H 375). Restored by Kirchhoff.
45. Olymp. 154 (= H 371).
46. IGA 412 (= K 740 = H 290). Melos.
47. IGA 393 (= H 321). Ceos. Restored by Kirchhoff.
48. BCH 29 (1905), p. 214. Delos.
49. AP 6. 133 (= Archil. 18).
50. AP 6. 269 (= Sappho 118).¹⁶⁷
51. AP 6. 135 (= Anac. 102).
52. AP 6. 142 (= Anac. 103).
53. AP 6. 139 (= Anac. 105).
54. AP 6. 140 (= Anac. 106).¹⁶⁸
55. AP 6. 141 (= Anac. 107).
56. AP 6. 134 (= Anac. 108).¹⁶⁹
57. AP 6. 136 (= Anac. 109).
58. AP 6. 137 (= Anac. 110).
59. AP 6. 143 (= Anac. 111).

¹⁶⁷ Although this epigram is longer than most early inscriptions, it is no longer than the early Corcyrean inscription, K 179. The sentiment is simple and frequent on stones of the sixth century.

¹⁶⁸ Wilamowitz (quoted by Weber, p. 34) holds that the name Ἀρηιφίλων proves this epigram late. For Homeric epithets as proper names see Thuc. 7. 34 (Δίφιλος), Thuc. 8. 64 (Δωτρήφης), Xen. Hell. 1. 3. 13 (Θεογένης). These examples, though not so early as this epigram, are certainly not "late."

¹⁶⁹ Weber's objection that these verses describe a painting and are therefore late, does not hold, since there is no indication that they describe a picture rather than a relief. Cf. 47 and Paus. 5. 17. 6.

60. AP 6. 346 (= Anac. 112).
61. Pr 106 (Paus. 5. 10. 3).
62. Pr 123 (Paus. 6. 13. 10).
63. Pr 197^a (Plato, Hipp. 229 A).¹⁷⁰
64. Pr 197^b (Plato, Hipp. 229 A).¹⁷⁰
65. Pr 53 (Phot. Lex. s. v. *Κυψελίδων*).
66. Pr 70 (Ath. 13. 609d).
67. AP 6, 341 (= Pr 109 : Hdt. 4. 88).
68. PLG Demod. 1 (Arist. Nic. Eth. 7. 9).
69. AP 11, 235 (= PLG Demod. 2).
70. PLG Phocyl. 3 (Strabo 10. 487).
- [71. PLG Archil. 2 (Ath. 1. 30 f).]
- [72. PLG Archil. 6 (Plut. Mor. 239 B).]
- [73. Theog. 877, 878.]
74. AP 7. 226 (= Anac. 100).

Fifth Century

- *75. JOAI 2 (1899), p. 221 (= AP 7. 254 = Sim. 108).
76. CIA I, 333 (= K 749 = H 266).¹⁷¹
77. CIA I, 442 (= K 21 = H 34) vv. 1-4 restored by Boeckh and Kaibel.
78. CIA II, 3. 2338 (= H 38).
79. CIA IV, 491¹², p. 115 (= K 36 = H 32).
80. CIA IV, 477^e, p. 49 (= H 20). Restored by Boeckh and Kirchhoff.
81. CIA IV, 446^a, p. 108 (= H 36)
82. CIA IV, 491⁸, p. 114 (= K 73 = H 33).
- *83. AM 22 (1897) p. 53 and tab. 9 (= Sim. 96). Salamis.
84. IGA 368 (= K 22 = H 66). Aegina.
85. AM 31 (1906), p. 89 and tab. 13. Megara.¹⁷²
86. IGS 2531 (= K 488 = H 171). Tanagra?
87. IGA 146 (= K 486 = H 56). Thespii.
88. IGA 167 (= K 487 = H 59). Thisbe.
89. IGA 329 (= K 182 = H 51). Acarnania.
90. IGA 325 (= H 55). Pharsalus. Restored by Caner.
91. BCH 24 (1900), p. 267. Thasos.
92. BCH 24 (1900), p. 266. Thasos.
93. IGA 382 (= H 63). Chios.

¹⁷⁰ See CIA I, 522, and cf. K. F. Smith. *AJP* 22, pp. 165 ff.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Bormann, *JOAI* 6 (1903), pp. 241 ff.

¹⁷² Cf. Solmsen, *AM* 31 (1906), p. 342.

94. AP 7. 249 (= Sim. 92 = Pr 21 : Hdt. 7. 228).
95. AP 7. 677 (= Sim. 94 = Pr 20 : Hdt. 7. 228).
96. AP 7. 248 (= Sim. 91 = Pr 200 : Hdt. 7. 228).
97. PLG Sim. 93 (= Pr 22).
98. Pr 23 (PLG 3, p. 428).
99. AP 7. 250 (= Sim. 97 = Pr 5).¹⁷³
100. AP 7. 347 (= Sim. 98 = Pr 4).
101. PLG Sim. 89 (= A Pl 26).¹⁷⁴
102. AP 7. 512 (= Sim. 102).
103. AP 7. 251 (= Sim. 99).¹⁷⁵
104. AP 7. 255 (= PLG Aesch. 3).¹⁷⁶
105. AP 7. 508 (= PLG 2. p. 260 = Pr 40).
106. AP 7. 253 (= Sim. 100 = Pr 8).
107. PLG Sim. 111 (= Pr 31 : Thuc. 6. 59).
108. PLG Aesch. 4 (= Pr 39).
109. AP 7. 258 (= Sim. 105).¹⁷⁷
110. AP 7. 509 (= Sim. 118).
111. AP 7. 507b (= Sim. 124 B).
112. PLG Sim. 130 (= Pr 51).
113. AP 7. 270 (= Sim. 109).
114. PLG Eurip. 1 (= Pr 9).
115. Pr 41 (PLG 3, p. 517 : Plut. Mor. 217 F).
116. AP 10. 105 (= Sim. 122).
117. CIA I, 374 (= K 752).
118. CIA I, 418 (= K 763). Restored by Kaibel.
119. CIA I, 382 (= K 754).
120. CIA I, 353 (= K 765).
121. CIA I, 397 (= K 753).
122. CIA I, 349 (= K 756 = H 236).
- *123. CIA I, 403 (= K 751 = AP 13. 13). Restored by Meineke.
- *124. CIA I, 381 (= K 758 = Anac. 104 = AP 6. 138).

¹⁷³ Vv. 1 and 2 form a complete epigram (see Kaibel, RM 28. 444), and vv. 3-6 are not quoted by any author before Aristides. This makes it probable that 3-6 are a later addition (see Wilhelm, JOAI 2, p. 244, and Wilamowitz, Goett. Nachr., 1897, p. 308). Kaibel (l. c.) says of vv. 1 and 2: "Nihil habet quod reprehendas praeterquam quod nec mortuos homines neque hostes devictos quinam fuerint significat; unde antiquo sepulcro insculptum fuisse nequit." But cf. 81. See also p. 24, n. 94.

¹⁷⁴ Wilhelm (l. c.) thinks vv. 3, 4 a later addition.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. AP 7. 242. With v. 2 cf. Sim. 37. 8 and Iliad II. 66.

¹⁷⁶ Evidently an imitation of 103. It is very likely epideictic. The καί looks like an imitation of an epigram like 171 b, where the καί is in place, as it is not here.

¹⁷⁷ Wilhelm (l. c.) thinks only vv. 1, 2 are original. Cf. note on 101.

- *125. JAOI 2 (1899), p. 230 (= Sim. 150 = AP 6. 144). Attica.
 126. CIA IV, 373²⁶⁸, p. 204 (= K 759 = H 322).
 127. CIA IV, 422¹⁶, p. 185 (= H 271).
 128. IGA 354 (= K 761 = H 315). Aegina.
 129. IA 1207. Epidaurus.
 130. IGA 7 (= H 324). Euboea.
 131. IGS 1794 (= K 757a pref. = H 317). Thisba.
 *132. Olymp. 253 (= H 312 = Pr 59).
 133. Olymp. 147 (= K(RM) 940 b = H 376).
 134. Olymp. 149 (= K(RM) 941 c = H 377).
 135. Olymp. 144 (= K(RM) 940 a = H 378).
 136. Olymp. 266 (= K 744 = H 309).
 137. Olymp. 150 (= IGA 355).
 138. CRAI 1901, p. 681. Delphi.¹⁷⁸
 139. AM 31 (1906), p. 530. Delphi.
 140. AM 11 (1886), p. 450 (= H 318). Larissa.
 141. IGA 402 (= K 750 = H 301). Paros.
 142. IGA 401 (= K 750 a, add. = H 302). Paros.
 143. Olymp. 630 (= H 401).
 144. PLG Sim. 131 (= Pr 152).
 145. AP 6. 2 (= Sim. 143).
 146. Pr 73 (Phil. ap. Harpocrat. s. v. *πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμῆς*).
 147. Pr 74 (Arist. *Ἀθην. πολ.* 7).
 148. AP 6. 213 (= Sim. 145).
 149. PLG Sim. 138 (= Pr 84 : Thuc. 1. 132).
 150. PLG Sim. 139 (= Pr 85).
 151. PLG Sim. 141 (= Pr 83. vv. 1. 2. 5. 6 in scholia, Pind. P. 1. 155; vv. 1-4 = AP 6. 214).¹⁷⁹
 152. Pr 86 (PLG 3, p. 516 : Diod. 11. 14).
 153. PLG Sim. 134 (= Pr 67 : Plut. Mor. 870 F).
 154. PLG Sim. 137 (= Pr 68 : Ath. 13. 573 d).
 155. AP 6. 50 (= Sim. 140 = Pr 78).¹⁸⁰
 156. Pr 103 (= Sim. 135 : Plut. Them. 8).
 157. Pr 100 (PLG 3, p. 516 : Ath. 12. 536 b).
 158. AP 6. 212 (= Sim. 164).
 159. Pr 125 (Paus. 6. 10. 7).
 160. Pr 126. 176 (Paus. 8. 42. 9, 10).

¹⁷⁸ This is the only epigram earlier than the second century B. C. where the name of the poet is mentioned. See Boas, p. 45, n. 16.

¹⁷⁹ See Hauvette, no. 65. Wilamowitz (Goett. Nachr., 1897, p. 313) rejects vv. 3-6.

¹⁸⁰ Wilamowitz (l. c.) rejects v. 2.

161. Pr 58. 175 (Paus. 5. 25. 10).
162. Pr 56 (Paus. 5. 27. 12).
163. Pr 82 (Diod. 13. 41).
164. AP 6. 53 (= PLG Bacchyl. 49).
165. Pr 108 (Porphy. Vit. Pythag. 3).
166. PLG Sim. 157 (= Pr 105 : Di. La. 4. 45).
167. AP 6. 313 (= PLG Bacchyl. 48).
168. PLG Philox. 15 (= AP 9. 319).
169. PLG Sim. 147 (= Pr 136).
170. PLG Sim. 90 (= Pr 199 : Lycurg. Leocr. 109).¹⁸¹
171. Pr 153 (Aeschin. 3. 184, 185).
172. Pr 154 (Aeschin. 3. 190).
173. Pr 178 (Paus. 6. 20. 14).
174. AP 7. 296 (= Pr 269 = Sim. 142).¹⁸²
175. Pr 140 (Ath. 1. 19 b).
176. Pr 127 (Paus. 7. 17. 7).
177. PLG Sim. 149 (= A Pl 2).
178. PLG Sim. 152 (= Pr 124 ; Paus. 6. 9. 9).
179. PLG Sim. 153 (= A Pl 3).
180. PLG Sim. 163 (= Pr. 144 ; Arist. Rhet. 1. 7. 32).
181. Pr 142 (Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 214).
182. Pr 180 (Ath. 2. 48 b).
183. Pr 174 (Paus. 6. 10. 5).
184. PLG Sim. 161 (= AP 9. 757).
185. PLG Sim. 160 (= Pr 179; Paus. 10. 27. 4).
186. Pr 209 (Arist. Nic. Eth. 1. 9).¹⁸³
187. Pr 207 (Porphy. de Abstin. 2. 19).
188. PLG 2, p. 260 (Di. La. 8. 65).
189. PLG Sim. 169 (= Pr 253 ; Ath. 10. 415 f).
190. AP 7. 349.
191. AP 7. 22 (PLG 2, p. 314).¹⁸⁴
192. AP 7. 515 (= Sim. 117).
193. AP 7. 301 (= Sim. 95).¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ The word *Μαραθῶνι* seems more suited to an honorary statue than to an actual tomb on the battle field.

¹⁸² See Boas, p. 205.

¹⁸³ Cf. Theog. 255; Soph. fr. 329.

¹⁸⁴ The absence of *τῆδε* or any similar indication that this is an inscription has led me to place it among the epideictic epitaphs.

¹⁸⁵ If this is an epitaph, it would be hard to tell whether it was for Leonidas or for the Spartans (see Hauvette); this uncertainty seems to me impossible in an epitaph, and the verses are probably an occasional poem. *τῆδε* may be explained by supposing that the author had the tomb of Leonidas before him.

- 194. AP 7. 514 (= Sim. 120).¹⁸⁴
- 195. AP 7. 302 (= Sim. 121).
- 196. PLG Sim. 167 (Ath. 3. 125 c).
- 197. PLG Soph. 5 (Plut. Mor. 785 B).
- 198. PLG Eurip. 2 (Ath. 2. 61 b).
- 199. PLG Soph. 4 (Ath. 13. 604 f).
- 200. PLG Sim. 175 (Stob. Ecl. Phys. 1. 8. 15).
- 201. PLG 2, p. 268 (Stob. Ecl. Phys. 1. 8. 16).
- [202. PLG Euenus 2 (= AP 11. 49).]
- [203. PLG Euenus 3.]
- [204. PLG Euenus 1 (Ath. 9. 367 e).]
- [205. PLG Euenus 4 (Stob. 51. 17).]
- [206. Theog. 1069, 1070.]¹⁸⁵
- [207. Theog. 425-8.]
- [208. Theog. 797, 8.]
- [209. Theog. 257-260.]
- [210. Theog. 993-6.]
- [211. Theog. 351-4.]
- [212. Theog. 649-652.]
- [213. Theog. 567-570.]
- [214. Theog. 1341-4.]
- [215. Theog. 1299-1304.]
- [216. Theog. 1329-34.]

Fourth Century

- *217. CIA II, 3. 1680 (= K 27 = H 106 = AP 7. 245).
- 218. CIA II, 3. 1678 (= K 37 = H 70).
- 219. CIA II, 3. 2263 (= K 39 = H 117).
- 220. CIA II, 3. 3620 (= K 35 = H 90).
- 221. CIA II, 3. 2892 (= K 71 = H 83).
- 222. CIA II, 3. 3602 (= K 35 a. add. = H 101). Vv. 2, 8, 9 restored by Kaibel.
- 223. K 38 (I have found no facsimile). Athens.
- 224. CIA II, 3. 2339 (= K 34 = H 74).
- 225. CIA II, 3. 3111 (= K 47 = H 87)
- 226. CIA II, 3. 2867 (= K 54 = H 82)
- 227. CIA II, 3. 3880 (= K 63 = H 94).
- 228. AM 19 (1894), p. 140. Athens.

¹⁸⁴ Some of these verses attributed to Theognis may belong to the sixth century. Since, however, some are surely of the fifth century and all are probably earlier than 400 B. C. (see Reitzenstein, p. 81), they are grouped together here for convenience.

229. CIA II, 3. 1995 (= K 62 = H 73). V. 2 restored by Kumanudes.
230. CIA II, 3. 3903 (= H 105).
231. CIA II, 3. 3086 (= K (RM) 58 a = H 86). Restored by Kaibel.
232. CIA II, 3. 2646 (= K 25 = H 78). Restored by Kaibel.
233. CIA II, 3. 2717 (= K 24 = H 79). Restored by Kaibel after Boeckh.
234. CIA II, 3. 2453 (= H 69).
235. CIA II, 3. 1994 (= K 49 = H 129).
236. CIA II, 3. 2496 (= K 64 = H 75).
237. CIA II, 3. 2718 (= H 80).
238. CIA II, 3. 1774 (= K 50 = H 72).
239. CIA II, 3. 3577 (= K 53 = H 89).
240. CIA II, 3. 3720 (= K 41 = H 92).
241. BCH 17 (1893), p. 194. Piraeus.
242. CIA II, 3. 2643 (= K 69 = H 77).
243. CIA II, 3. 3673 (= K 91 = H 91).
244. CIA II, 3. 4054 (= H 96).
245. CIA II, 3. 3260 b, p. 355 (= H 109).
246. CIA II, 3. 1376 (= K 43 = H 351). Restored by Kaibel.
247. K 209 (I have found no facsimile). Euboea.
248. AM 1 (1876), p. 233 (= K 471 a, add. = H 177). Sparta.
249. IGS 2536 (= K 489 = H 181). Thebes. V. 1 restored by Wilamowitz; vv. 3-7 by Keil and Kaibel.
250. BCH 25 (1901) p. 271. Tegea.¹⁸⁷
251. CIG II (add.), 2254 v (= K 219 = H 172). Amorgos.
252. Ann. d. Instit., 1864, p. 103 (= K 220 = H 173). Amorgos.
253. CIG II, 3648 (= K 86 = H 174). Provenience unknown.
254. Pr 260 (Ath. 10. 454 f).
255. AP 7. 60 (= Pr 11).
256. Pr 12 (PLG 2, p. 329 = A Pl 31).¹⁸⁸
257. Pr 13 (Steph. Byz. s. v. *Φασηλός*).
258. AP 7. 300 (= Sim. 123).¹⁸⁹
259. Pr 24 (Ath. 13. 589 b).
260. CIA II, 2. 1078 (= K 1043 = H 416). Restored by Boeckh.

¹⁸⁷ See Wilhelm, AM 29 (1904), p. 108, and Loring, JHS, 1895, p. 90.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1839, p. 227, n. 264, a fragment which may be metrical. For Bergk's reading of it see PLG 2, p. 330.

¹⁸⁹ Although this epigram bears the name of Simonides, there are in it indications that it belongs to the fourth century — *κέκυθε γαῖα, ἐπαγῆς ἡβῆς τέλος ἄκρον, ἀθάνατον θνητοῖς*.

261. CIA II, 3. 1427 (= K 770 = H 273).
 262. CIA II, 3. 1425 (= K 771 = H 350). Restored by Kaibel.
 263. AM 30 (1905), p. 298 (= H. 281). Athens.
 264. CIA II, 3. 1441 (= K(RM) 773 a = H. 274). Restored by Kaibel.
 265. IA 583 (= K 846 = H 358). Argos.
 266. IA 1099. Epidaurus.
 267. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884, pp. 49/50. Epidaurus.
 268. Lebas, Voyage Arch. en Grèce et en Asie Mineure 5. 38 (= K 769 = H 325). Erythrae.
 269. IGS 530 (= K 938 = H 390). Tanagra.
 270. BCH 24 (1900), p. 235, n. 2. Crete.
 271. IP I, 2, p. 2 (= H 331).
 272. AM 8 (1883), p. 23 (= H 328). Larissa.
 273. CIG II, 2104 (= K 773). Pantacapaum.
 274. AM 14 (1889), p. 17 (= H 326). Delphi. Vv. 1, 3 restored by Kaibel.
 275. BCH 21 (1897), p. 598. Delphi.
 276. BCH 21 (1897), pp. 592 ff, n. 2-7.¹⁹⁰ Delphi.
 277. BCH 6 (1882), p. 446 (= H 383). Delphi.
 278. BCH 24 (1900), p. 171. Delphi.¹⁹¹
 279. CIA II, 3. 1302 (= K 940 = H 366).
 280. CIA II, 3. 1311 (= H 369).
 281. IGS 2532 (= K 492 = H 179). Thebes.
 282. IGS 2533 (= K 492 b, pref.) Thebes.
 283. Olymp. 166 (= H 382).
 284. Olymp. 164 (= K(RM) 942 a).
 285. Olymp. 161. Restored by H. Förster.
 286. Olymp. 293 (= K 875 a, add. = H 357).
 287. IGS 2470 (= K 938 a, pref. = H 386). Thebes.
 288. IGS 2462 (= K 768 a, pref. = H 356). Thebes.
 289. JHS 9 (1888), p. 239. Paphos.
 290. Pr 156 (Plut. Mor. 838 D).
 291. Pr 157 (PLG 2, p. 329: Plut. Mor. 839 B).
 292. Pr 75 (Philodemus). Restored by Boeckh.
 293. Pr 143 (Pollux 4. 92).
 294. Pr 88 (Stob. Flor. 1. 49. 52).
 295. Pr 164 (Strabo. 10, p. 463).

¹⁹⁰ Although n. 7 is irregular in form, I have included it for the sake of keeping complete the series of which it is a part. See p. 33.

¹⁹¹ Ulrichs (Reise über Delphi, p. 43, n. 5) gives the whole inscription, which was complete when he saw it.

296. Pr 141 (Ath. 14, 629 a).
297. Pr 60 (Paus. 5. 22. 3).
298. Pr 146 (Paus. 6. 3. 14).
299. Pr 214 (= AP 9. 684).
300. Pr 99 (= AP 9. 786).
301. Pr 115 (PLG 2, p. 325 : Plut. Timol. 31).
302. Pr 158 (PLG 2, p. 326 : Suidas s. v. *συντῆν ἐπαινεῖς*).
303. PLG. Sim. 186 (= AP app. 77).
304. Pr 161 (Paus. 9. 15. 6).
305. Pr 162 (= A Pl 33).
306. Pr 163 (= PLG Arist. 4 : Di. La. 5. 7).
307. PLG Sim. 188 (= Pr 129 : Hephaest. p. 116, ed. Gaisford).
308. Pr 130 (Paus. 6. 4. 6).
309. Pr 147 (Strabo 10, p. 463).
310. Pr 184 (Aristid. 2. 521).
311. Pr 181 (PLG 2, p. 320 : Ath. 12. 543 d).
312. Pr 182 (PLG 2, p. 321 : Ath. 12. 543 e).
- 312 a. Pr 183 (PLG 2, p. 321 : Ath. 12. 544 a).
313. AP 7. 45 (= Pr 259 : PLG 2, p. 267).
314. AP 5. 77 (= PLG Plato 1).
315. AP 5. 78 (= Plato 2).
316. AP 5. 79 (= Plato 3).
317. AP 7. 100 (= Plato 8).
318. AP 7. 256 (= Plato 9).
319. AP 7. 259 (= Plato 10).
320. AP 7. 669 (= Plato 14).
321. AP 7. 670 (= Plato 15).
322. PLG Plato 29 (Th. Magist. Vit. Aristoph., p. 160, ed. Westermann).
323. Pr 10 (Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μῆλτος*).
324. Plut. Mor. 603 C.

The following epigrams, cited by Bergk among the poems of ancient authors, seem later than the dates to which they are attributed. In the case of some it has been enough to refer to the work of scholars whose arguments against them seem to me just; in the case of others I add some considerations which have occurred to me.

Aesop. PLG 2, p. 164. This epigram is so very unlike all early epigrams and so like later ones (e. g. AP 9. 359, 360) that it can hardly be assigned to the time of Aesop.

Archil. 17. Although formulas like γαῖ' *ὑπέπερθεν ἔχεις* do occur in Homer¹⁹² and Theognis,¹⁹³ yet they do not appear in epigrams till

¹⁹² Od. O. 31, *πρὶν καὶ τῶα γαῖα καθέξει*. Il. II. 629, *πᾶρος τινὰ γαῖα καθέξει*.

¹⁹³ 973 : *δὲ πόντῳ ἐπὶ γαῖα καλὸ ψῆγ*.

the fourth century, when they become very frequent.¹⁹⁴ Hence I have hesitated to assign the epigram to Archilochus. Moreover, the words *ὑψηλοῦς κίονας* savor of rhetoric, and the address *ὦ . . . γὰρ* suggests a later period.

Archil. 19. I have rejected this epigram because it is obviously so incomplete that it is impossible to say what was the original character of the poem to which it belonged. The content is not a reason for rejecting it.

Sappho 120. Reitzenstein (p. 107) says "*μνήματα κακοζοίας* stehen nicht auf Marmor sondern im Buch." Although I do not feel certain of the truth of this, I have rejected the epigram because it gives no indication that it was intended for a tomb. See pp. 16 ff.

Demod. 3, 4. See PLG.

Anac. 113. The absence of any indication that these verses were inscribed shows that they cannot have been written at the time of Anacreon as an inscription. The style appears too ornate and elaborate for an early epideictic epigram. (Cf. PLG.) Kaibel's¹⁹⁵ argument that the words *παρίδος αἴης* appear only here in an epigram of the sixth century does not appear to me conclusive, since the phrase is not common in any age, and there is nothing in it inconsistent with the style of the sixth century.

Anac. 115, 116. The name of Myron shows that these verses are later than the time of Anacreon, and their striking resemblance to the sort of epigram so common in the Alexandrian age¹⁹⁶ makes it improbable that they are contemporary with Myron himself.

Erinna 3-5. The question as to how many poets by the name of Erinna there were in early times, and the precise periods when they flourished, may be passed over here. These three epigrams at any rate were not composed before the third century. Cf. with 4 AP 9. 736 and A Pl 248, poems of the Alexandrian era. The style and the content alike are inconsistent with an early date.

Sim. 101. See Hiller, Phil. 48 (1889), p. 231, and p. 21 of this article.

Sim. 103. See Boas, p. 216, and Kaibel, RM 28, 457.

Sim. 104. See Boas, pp. 92 ff.

Sim. 106. See Hauvette and Boas, pp. 213 ff.

Sim. 107. See PLG.

Sim. 110. See Boas, p. 137, n. 103, and Hauvette.

¹⁹⁴ See Table III.

¹⁹⁵ Stil u. Text d. 'Αθην. Πολ., p. 131, n. 3 (Berlin, 1893).

¹⁹⁶ Cf. A Pl 146, 248; AP 713, 714.

Sim. 113. The vagueness of the epigram as to the identity of Kallias makes it most improbable that this epigram is fifth-century work, and the phrase *ἐὶν ἰσομαί* also points to a later period.

Sim. 114. See Hauvette and p. 21 of this article.

Sim. 115, 116.¹⁹⁷ The style is obviously Alexandrian.

Sim. 119. See Hauvette.

Sim. 124^a. See PLG.

Sim. 127–129. See Hauvette.

Sim. 133. See PLG and Hauvette.

Sim. 136. See Boas, pp. 73, 86, and Wilamowitz, *Goett. Nachr.*, 1897, p. 311.

Sim. 144. Bergk thinks this genuine because he considers that it was imitated by Mnascalas (AP 6. 125, 128). Cf., however, AP 6. 124, by Hegesippus, — a poem far simpler and better than this. Moreover, we miss the name of the dedicator, an omission never found in the fifth or even in the fourth century.¹⁹⁸ If the writers of the later epigrams mentioned above had any model before their eyes, it may have been ep. 55, which is recalled by the epigram of Hegesippus.

Sim. 146. See Hauvette.

Sim. 154. The form of this epigram shows its late date. Cf. AP 7. 64, 79, 163, 470, 552.

Sim. 156. See Hauvette.

Plato 4–7, 11–13, 16–28, 30, 31. See PLG and Fava.

With regard to other epigrams attributed to the fifth and fourth centuries and not included in the preceding lists, see Bergk's notes. In every case the attribution rests on very uncertain evidence, or the poems themselves show plainly their late date.

SMITH COLLEGE
January 15, 1910.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. R. Weisshäupl, *Die Grabgedichte d. gr. Anthologie* (Vienna, 1889), p. 102.

¹⁹⁸ In ep. 145 there is no dedicator's name, but the language makes it clear that the offering was made by the whole people.

TABLE I.
INFORMATION GIVEN BY INSCRIBED EPITAPHS.

Century.	Name of the dead.			Name of parent.			Age of the dead.		Profession or office of the dead.	Cause of death.
	In the verses.	Outside the verses.	Omitted in the verses.	In the verses.	Outside the verses.	Omitted.	Expressed by sign or the like.	Expressed in years.		
VII VI	Gen. 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 17, Dad. 3, 157, 16 Acc. 1. 5, 9 Voc. 137	Gen. 12		Nom. 3, 67, 107, 15 Gen. 7		1, 2, 11, 147, 17	1, 9, 11, 147			War, 1, 17
	Nom. 78, 84, 887 Gen. 80, 82, 89, 93 Dad. 87, 90, 91 Acc. 79, 85 Voc. 86	Nom. 78, 81, 82, 84 Gen. 79	811 831	Nom. 78		82, 89, 91, 93	75, 81			War, 75, 77 b. c. 81, 88, 89
IV	Nom. 221, 224, 234, 237, 239, 241a 243, 244, 245, 2467 Gen. 226, 227, 240, 251, 252, Dad. 253 Acc. 218, 230, 233, 235, 236,	Nom. 219, 221, 222, 225, 236, 227, 228, 229, 231, 2327 235, 236, 239, 241, 242, 243, 245, 253	217, 1225 228, 231, 242, 247	Nom. 247, 253 Gen. 229, 239 242 221 224 241 249 252	Gen. 228, 229, 239 226, 227, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 243, 245, 251	218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 243, 245, 251	219, 221, 228, 230, 237 252	2447 246	219, 223, 225, 226, 245	War, 217, 233, 237, 238 Other causes, 228 241 251

TABLE I. — (continued).

Century.	Praise of the dead.					Word for tomb.		Speaker.		Expression of grief.	Name of artist in the versa.
	For valor.	For friendship.	For other virtues.	For excellence in the arts.	For various reasons.	$\sigma\tau\mu\alpha$ or the like.	Omitted.	The dead.	The tomb.		
VII VI	3, 12, 17	6, 8, 10	1, 3, 8, 12, 13, 16		7, 16	2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17	1	11	14, 17	9?	10
V	75, 77 ^a , 79, 81, 88	82, 86, 88	78, 79, 80, 90, 93		80	82, 87, 89, 91, 93	75, 77, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 86	83, 84	77 ^a , 87	77 ^a , 79, 80, 87, 88, 87, 90, 92	
IV	224, 229, 232, 233, 237, 247.	220 b, 235	219, 220a, b, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 231, 235, 236, 238, 239, 241, 242, 245, 247	219, 223, 236, 245		222 a, b, 222, 233, 240, 242, 247, 251, 252, 253	217, 218, 220, 221, 223, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 243, 245	217, 228, 232, 242, 243, 245, 248		220, 221, 223, 228, 229, 235, 236, 243, 251	

1 Name omitted because of the large number of the dead.

TABLE II.
INFORMATION GIVEN BY INSCRIBED DEDICATIONS.

Century.	Name of dedicator.			Name of father.			Birthplace of dedicator.	Profession or office of dedicator.	Name of deity.		
	In the verses.	Outside the verses.	Omitted.	In the verses.	Outside the verses.	Omitted.			In the verses.	Outside the verses.	Omitted.
VII VI	<i>Nom.</i> 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47, 48 <i>Gen.</i> 24 <i>Ded.</i> 43 46	<i>Nom.</i> 42		<i>Gen.</i> 26, 31, 33, 37, 44		22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 32, 38, 40, 41, 42, 46, 48		42	<i>Nom.</i> 23 <i>Gen.</i> 33, 37, 47, 48 <i>Ded.</i> 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41 <i>Voc.</i> 24, 42, 43, 46		
V	<i>Nom.</i> 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 142 <i>Voc.</i> 125	<i>Nom.</i> 135		<i>Nom.</i> 128, 134 <i>Gen.</i> 117, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 133, 135, 136	<i>Gen.</i> 135	131, 138, 140 142	121, 126, 129, 133, 134, 135, 138		<i>Ded.</i> 119, 117, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 131, 142 <i>Voc.</i> 121, 141		124, 128, 133, 134, 136, 138

IV	Nom.	Nom.	Gen.	Gen.	267 f	261	276 f	276 f	Dat.	260
	261, 264 ⁷ , 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276 f, 278	261	268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275	261	276 f	261, 265, 273, 274, 276 f	276 f (outside the verses)	276 f	261, 265, 268, 270, 272, 273, 275, 276 f, Voc 262 ⁷ , 263, 264, 266, 267, 271, 274	269, 278

TABLE II. — (continued).

Century.	Site of the of- fering.	Reasons for dedication.				Offering.		Recom- pense asked.	Verb of dedicating omitted.	Artist's name in the verses.	
		Victory in battle.	Vic- tory in games.	Fulfillment of vow.	Various.	Described.	Not described.				
VIII VI	37	25	40 44	26, 30, 31, 32, 36, 48	23, 24, 35, 37, 41, 42, 46	23, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 36, 40, 43, 46, 48	22, 24, 33, 37, 38, 39, 42	30, 33, 34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44	29, 38, 42		
V	142	132 138	133 134 135	120, 121, 122, 123, 130, 131, 140, 142	117, 126, 129, 136	125, 126, 132, 135, 138, 140, 141, 142	117, 121, 122, 123, 129, 130, 140	117, 122, 129, 130, 140	121, 124, 142		
IV	260 264	274 278	265 269	275	260, 261, 264, 266, 268, 270, f 273, 276 f	260, 261, 263, 267, 268, 270, 273, 275	268 272 276 f	260? 265	262, 264, 267, 272	268	

